

THE GENERAL
HISTORY
OF THE VAST
CONTINENT and ISLANDS
OF
AMERICA,
Commonly call'd, THE
WEST-INDIES,
FROM

The FIRST DISCOVERY thereof:

With the best Accounts the People could give of their

ANTIQUITIES.

Collected from the Original RELATIONS
sent to the Kings of SPAIN.

By ANTONIO DE HERRERA,
Historiographer to His CATHOLICK MAJESTY.

Translated into *English* by Capt. JOHN STEVENS.

VOL. II.

Illustrated with CUTS and MAPS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N,

Printed for WOOD and WOODWARD in *Paternoster-Row*.
MDCCLX.

1382, 15

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THE

The East Discovery

With the first Account of the

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By ANTONIO DE HERNAN

Historiographer to the Catholic Majesty.

Translated into English by Capt. John Storer.

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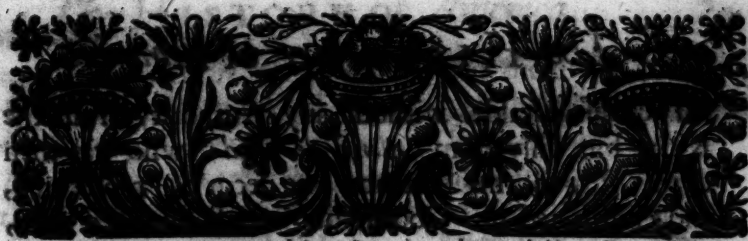
Illustrated with Copper Plates.

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Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

A M E R I C A, &c.

DECAD. I. BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

Basco Nuñez de Balboa *expels the Batchelor Enciso out of Darien; views the Country; marches against the Caziques Ponca and Comagre; hears of the South-Sea, and sends Valdibia to Hispaniola.*



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self Chief Alcalde, without any Authority from the King, but only from *Alonso de Ojeda*, who was then dead. Upon this Pretence, he secur'd, prosecuted, and confiscated his Goods, but at last dismiss'd him, upon Condition that he should go away to *Spain* or *Hispaniola* in the first Ship. All the People agreed that Deputies should be sent to the Admiral, to ask of him Supplies of Men and Provisions, and that one should go to the King, to give an Account of what had been done. *Basco Nuñez* considering that the Wrongs done to *James de Nicuesa* and *Enciso* would some Time rise in Judgment, and to engross all the Government into his own Hands, found means to persuade the other Alcalde *Zamudio* his Partner, to go into *Spain*, to give an Account of the Colony there settled, and the Reason there was to hope that the Country would produce great Wealth. He also contriv'd, that *Valdivia*, one of the Regidores, and his particular Friend, ever since they liv'd in the Town of *Salvatierra de la Zabana*, at *Cape Tiburon*, in *Hispaniola*, should be sent to that Island, and by him he privately sent a good Present of Gold to the Treasurer *Pissamonte*, because he was much in the King's Favour, and could therefore do him signal Service at Court. *Zamudio*, *Valdivia*, and the Batchelor *Enciso*, embark'd aboard a small Caravel, *Basco Nuñez* giving *Zamudio* the Process against *Enciso*, whom, as he was going aboard some of the Inhabitants entreated to stay, and they would prevail that he should exercise his Office of Chief Alcalde; but he would not. They all three arriv'd at *Hispaniola*, where *Valdivia* stay'd, and *Zamudio* and *Enciso* proceeded to *Spain*.

At this Time many *Indians* resorted to *Darien*, to spy whether the *Spaniards* were going away, or what they design'd to do, and to palliate their Design, carry'd *Indian* Wheat, and other Provisions to exchange for Beads, little Knives, and other *Spanish* Baubles, and

to perswade them to be gone, said there was much Gold and Plenty of all Eatables in the Province of *Coyba*, which was thirty Leagues from thence. *Basco Nunez* sent *Francis Pizarro* with six Men to discover the Country, who having travell'd three Leagues up the River, was attack'd by four hundred *Indians*, under the Command of the Cazique *Zemaco*, and hard press'd with their Arrows and Stones, but they closing, ripp'd up the Bellies of one hundred and fifty of them, with their Swords, and wounded many more, whereupon the rest fled. The *Spaniards* then return'd to *Darien* in a bad Plight, leaving one *Francis Hernan* behind them lying on the Ground, at which *Basco Nunez* was so much offended, that he commanded *Pizarro*, tho' he was wounded, to go back with some Men for him, as he did and brought him, thinking it a Discredit to leave any one behind alive. *Basco Nunez* then march'd out himself with one hundred Men, and advanc'd some Leagues towards the Province of *Coyba*, the Cazique whereof was call'd *Careta*, because of the great Plenty of Gold he had been told there was; but meeting no *Indians* by the Way, he soon return'd to his Colony. Some fancy'd he would have resign'd the Government to *Nicuessá*, if he had return'd, which was not likely, who not coming, he sent two Brigantines for the *Spaniards* that had been left at *Nombre de Dios*. As they were joyfully sailing along the Coast, when they came to a Port belonging to the Cazique of *Coyba*, two *Spaniards* stark naked, painted with red, came out to meet them. They and one more had, a Year and an half since, made their escape out of *Nicuessá's* Ship, when he was in Quest of the Province of *Veragua*, to avoid the Punishment due to some Crime they had committed, and put themselves into the Hands of the Cazique *Careta*, who always treated them very well; but not agreeing among themselves, tho' in Captivity, they two one Day drew

their Swords, and the one of them, whose Name was *John Alonso*, wounded the other dangerously, whereupon the *Cazique* made him a Commander in the War he had against some of his Enemies, looking upon him as the braver Man, and did nothing without his Advice. These two Men were very acceptable to those in the Brigantines, and gave an Account that the Country abounded so much in Gold, that if *Basco Nunez* would invade it, with a Number of Men, they would be all rich. Hereupon it was agreed, that one of them should go and inform *Basco Nunez* of the State of the Country, and the other should stay to be serviceable as Occasion might offer.

WHEN the Brigantines return'd to *Darien*, *Basco Nunez* was well pleas'd with the Intelligence they brought of the great Wealth, and no less for having Interpreters to deal with the Natives, and being thoroughly inform'd of the Nature of that Country, sent back the Brigantines to bring away from *Nombre de Dios* those they could not fetch off the first Time. In the mean while he provided one hundred and thirty of the ablest Men, with the Arms, Provisions, and other Necessaries they were to carry. As soon as the Brigantines arriv'd, he set out in Quest of *Careta*, being thirty Leagues distant, as was said before. The *Cazique* hearing of it, waited for him in his House, where *Basco Nunez* ask'd him for Provisions for his Men, and to carry to *Darien*. *Careta* answer'd, That whensoever any Christians had pass'd that Way, he freely gave them Part of his Provisions, but that at present he had none, being at War with a neighbouring *Cazique*, whose Name was *Panca*, for which Reason his People had not sow'd, and were then in great Want. Having receiv'd this Answer, *Basco Nunez*, by the Advice of the above-mention'd *John Alonso*, pretended to go back the same Way he came, and *Careta* thinking himself very safe, *Basco Nunez* return'd at Mid-night,

Mid-night, and attacking the Town in three Places, after Killing and wounding very many, took the Cazi- que, his two Wives, and Children, and several others, all whom he sent away to *Darien*, loading the Brigantines with Provisions. At *Darien*, *Careta* entreated *Basco Nunez* not to keep him in Captivity, since he did not deserve it, promising to do all that was in his Power to furnish the Christians with Pro- visions, and to be his Friend ever after, in Token whereof he would give him one of his Daughters to Wife, who was very beautiful, and to the End that his People might have leisure to till and sow the Ground, he should assist him against his Enemy *Pontca*. *Basco Nunez* accepted of the Offer, and the Daughter, whom he kept as his Mistress, tho' *Careta* thought he had her for his Wife; but he always lov'd and cherish'd her very much.

Careta being set at Liberty, *Basco Nunez* went into his Country with eighty Men, where the Cazi- que order'd his People to sow much Land, and then they prepar'd to march against *Pontca*. He understanding that the *Spaniards* took Part with *Careta*, durst not stand them, but betook himself to the Mountains, whereupon they wasted his Country, carrying away all the Provisions and Gold they could find; which done, *Basco Nunez* resolv'd to leave the prosecuting of the War up the Country till a fitter Time, and re- turn'd to the Sea Coast. The nearest Neighbour to *Careta*, was Lord of a Province call'd *Comagre*, and the Cazi- que bore the same Name, his Dominion lying at the Foot of a very high Mountain, in a very plea- sant Plain extending twelve Leagues. A Kinsman of *Careta*, and prime Man in the Country, of the De- gree which they call *Jura*, interpos'd to bring *Coma- gre*, who was desirous to know them, to be a Friend to the Christians. He had seven Sons by several Wives, all of them very genteel, and discreet; especially the eldest,

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eldest, who was more virtuous and wise. *Comagre* being told, that the *Spaniards* were coming, went out to meet them, with his Sons, the prime Men, and all the People, and there was great Rejoycing. He lodg'd them in his Town, found Provisions, and Men and Women to serve them. His Palace was more remarkable and better built than any that had been yet seen either in the Islands, or the little that was then known of the Continent, being one hundred and fifty Paces in Length, and eighty in Breadth, founded on very large Posts, enclos'd by a Stone Wall, with Timber intermix'd at the Top, and hollow Spaces, so beautifully wrought, that the *Spaniards* were amaz'd at the Sight of it, and could not express the Manner and Curiosity of it. There were in it several Chambers, and Apartments, and one that was like a Buttery was full of such Provisions as the Country afforded, as Bread, Venison, Swine's Flesh, &c. There was another large Room like a Cellar, full of earthen Vessels, containing several Sorts of white and red Liquors, made of *Indian* Wheat, Roots, a Kind of Palm-Tree, and other Ingredients, the which Liquors the *Spaniards* commended, when they drank them. There was also a very large Chamber, kept very private, in which were the Bodies of many dead Men, dry'd up, hanging by Cords made of Cotton, cloath'd, and cover'd with rich Mantles of the same interwoven with Gold, some Pearls, and Stones that were valu'd among them; and these were their Parents, Ancestors, and Relations, whom *Comagre* highly respected, and perhaps he look'd upon them as his Gods. Those Bodies were parch'd at the Fire, that they might be preserv'd without Corruption.

Basco Nunez, and his Men being thus joyfully receiv'd, and entertain'd like Brothers, *Comagre's* eldest Son, who, as has been said, was a discreet Youth, being desirous to oblige his Guests, caus'd several Pie-

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ces of Gold valuable both for their Workmanship and Fineness, weighing about four thousand Peices of eight, and seventy Slaves to be brought, all which he gave to *Basco Nunez* and *Roderick Enriquez de Colmenares*, knowing them to be the prime Persons. They immediately set apart the fifth of the Gold for the King, and distributed the rest among themselves. When they were dividing it, some quarrell'd, making a Noise about the best and finest of those Peices. *Comagre's* eldest Son, who was present, observing it, ran to the Scales, and striking them with his double Fist, threw all the Gold upon the Ground, saying, "The Christians
" needed not to fall out about such a Trifle, but if they
" were so fond of it, as to disturb peaceable Nations,
" and leave their own native Country for the Sake of
" it, he would show them a Province where they
" might have as much as their Hearts could desire;
" but that there must be a greater Number of them,
" because they were to encounter mighty Monarchs,
" who defended their Dominions with much Bravery.
" That they would first meet with a Caziue, who
" abounded in that Gold they look'd upon as Wealth,
" who was six Suns, that is, six Days March from
" thence, pointing with his Finger towards the *South-*
" *Sea*; which he told them they would see as soon as
" past certain Lands, and that there were other Nati-
" ons had Vessels little inferior to those of the *Spani-*
" *ards*, with Sails and Oars; and that beyond that
" Sea they would find immense Store of Gold, out
" of which those People did eat and drink." And
having understood from the *Spaniards*, that there was great Plenty of Iron in *Spain*, of which the Swords were made, he signify'd, that there was more Gold in those Parts than Iron in *Biscay*. Hence it has been inferr'd, that those People, and the Inhabitants of *Darien* had much Knowledge of the Natives and Wealth of *Pern*, and of the Floats they us'd with Sails and
Oars.

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Oars. This was the first Intimation given of that large Country, and because the Youth was acquainted with the great Extent of that Kingdom, and its Power, he added, that there ought to be one thousand Christians at least, to invade it, and he offer'd to go with them himself, to assist them with his Father's Men. This Discourse was interpreted by the two aforesaid Spaniards, who had fled from *Nicuesa*, and liv'd with *Careta*. *Basco Núñez* and his Followers having heard these Tidings, were so overjoy'd, that they thought they could never make Haste enough to go discover those Countries.

THEY rested there some Days, getting all the Confirmation they could of the Sea being beyond the Mountains they saw, and the immense Wealth that Youth had mention'd, and being wholly intent upon it, they made haste back to *Darien*, to send Advice to the Admiral, and to the King himself of the wonderful Discovery they had made, desiring one thousand Men might be sent for that important Enterprize. Before their Departure, *Comagre* and his Sons, with other People were baptiz'd, the Cazique taking the Name of *Don Carlos*, the then Prince of *Spain*. When they arriv'd at *Darien*, *Valdibia* came back from *Hispaniola*, with some Provisions, and fair Promises from the Admiral, after he had been gone six Months. The Quantity *Valdibia* brought being very small, they soon began to fall short again, and to add to it, there hapned a dreadful Storm of Thunder and Lightning, and after it so great an Inundation, as destroy'd all that they had sown; whereupon being quite destitute of any Support near at hand, they agreed to go farther off for Supplies. In the mean Time *Basco Núñez* sent back *Valdibia* to *Hispaniola*, to acquaint the Admiral as has been said above. He also writ, that he had kill'd thirty Caziques, and would put to Death as many as fell into his Hands, because he could not be other-

wise

wise safe till more Supplies were sent him. *Valdibia* had likewise fifteen thousand Pieces of eight in Gold given him, to be remitted to the King as his Share of what had been taken, and many of the People of *Darien* gave Gold to be sent over to their Friends in *Spain*. *Valdibia* embark'd in the same Caravel that brought him, and *Basco Nuñez* made ready to go up the Country to seek Provisions.



CHAP. II.

The Admiral Don James Columbus sends Captain James Velasquez to subdue the Island of Cuba; the Description of it; the King's Message to the Admiral by his Uncle Don Bartholomew.



THE same Year 1511, the Admiral resolv'd to make Settlements in *Cuba*, knowing it to be an Island, the Soil good, populous, and abounding in Provisions. To this Purpose he made choice of *James Velasquez*, being the wealthiest, and best belov'd of all the first *Spanish* Inhabitants in *Hispaniola*. Besides he was a Man of Experience, of a mild and affable Temper, tho' he knew how to maintain his Authority; of Body well-shap'd, of Complexion fair, and very discreet. As soon as it was known in *Hispaniola*, that *James Velasquez* was going to make Settlements in *Cuba*, Abundance of People resolv'd to bear him Company, some because, as has been said, he was belov'd, and others because they were ruin'd

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and in Debt. All these, being about three hundred Men, rendezvouz d in the Town of *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, to embark aboard four Ships, that Place being at the Extreimity of *Hispaniola*. Before we proceed any farther, it is fit to observe, that the Province of *Guahabá* lying next to *Cuba*, the Distance between the two Points being but eighteen Leagues, many *Indians* went over to *Cuba* in their Canoes, and among them pass'd over, with as many of his Men as could, a Cazi-que of the said Province of *Guahaba*, call'd *Hatuey*, a brave and discreet Man. He settled on the nearest Country, known by the Name of *Mayci*, and possessing himself of that Part, kept the People as Subjects, but not as Slaves; for it was never found in the *Indies*, that any Difference was made between a free People, or even their own Children and Slaves, unless it were in *New-Spain*, and the other Provinces, where they us'd to sacrifice Prisoners of War to their Idols, which was not practis'd in those Islands. This Cazi-que *Hatuey*, fearing that the *Spaniards* would at some Time pass over into *Cuba*, always kept Spies, to know what was doing in *Hispaniola*, and being inform'd of the Admiral's Design, he assembled his People, who it is likely were of the most martial, and putting them in Mind of their many Sufferings under the *Spaniards*, told them, " They did all that for a great Lord they were very fond of, which he would show them," and then taking some Gold out of a little Palm-Tree Basket, added, " This is the Lord whom they serve, him they follow, and as you have already heard, they are about passing over hither, only to seek this Lord, therefore let us make a Festival, and dance to him, to the End that when they come, he may order them not to do us Harm." Accordingly they all began to sing and dance, till they were quite tir'd; for it was their Custom, to dance as long as they could stand, from Night-fall, till Break of Day, and their

III Dances

Dances were as in *Hispaniola*, to the Musick of their Songs; and tho' fifty thousand Men and Women were assembled, no one differ'd in the least from the rest in the Motions of their Hands, Feet, and Bodies; but those of *Cuba* far exceeded the Natives of *Hispaniola*, their Songs being more agreeable. When they were spent with Singing and Dancing before the little Basket of God, *Harney* bid them not to keep the Lord of the Christians in any Place whatsoever, for tho' he were in their Bowels, they would fetch him out, and therefore they should cast him into the River, under Water where they would not find him; and so they did.

BEFORE we enter upon *James Velasquez's* Actions in *Cuba*, we will give some Account of that Island. It is two hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, from Cape *San Anton* to the Point of *Mayci*, travelling by Land. The Breadth from Cape *Cruzes* to Port *Manati* is forty-five, and there it begins to taper away, and so runs on from thence to the Westernmost Point, narrowing to about twelve Leagues from *Matamano* to *Havana*. Its Situation is within the Tropick of *Cancer*, from twenty to twenty-one Degrees. Most of it is flat, full of Woods and Forests, but from the eastern Point of *Mayci*, for thirty Leagues there are vast high Mountains, as there are beyond two Thirds of it to the Westward; and in the Middle there are Hills, but not very high. Very fine Rivers run down on both the North and South Sides, full of Fish, and especially Skates and Olaves that go up from the Sea. Towards the Middle of it, on the South Side there is a prodigious Number of little Islands, which the first Admiral *Don Christopher Columbus* nam'd the *Queen's Gardin*. There are others, tho' not so many on the North Side, which Captain *James Velasquez* call'd the *King's Gardin*. On the South Side about the Middle there runs down into the Sea a mighty River,

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which the *Indians* call *Canto*, the Banks of it are very agreeable, and in it are a vast Multitude of Alligators. Those who happen to be benighted near it, must be upon their Guard, for those Creatures then come out of the Water, walk about the Land, and if they can surprize a Man, they drag him into the Water, and devour him. They sometimes do so by such as venture to ford the River, and even by Horses. They are to be found all over the *Indies*, especially to the Southward, and in the Islands, but in *Cuba* only in this River.

THIS Island is very much wooded, for Men may travel along it almost two hundred and thirty Leagues, always under Trees of several Sorts, and particularly sweet-scented and red Cedars, as thick as an Ox, of which they made such large Canoes, that they would contain fifty or sixty Persons, and of this Sort there were once great Numbers in *Cuba*. There are Storax Trees, and if a Man in the Morning gets upon a high Place, the Vapours that rise from the Earth, perfectly smell of Storax, coming from the Fire the *Indians* make at Night, and drawn up when the Sun rises. Another Sort of Trees produce a Fruit call'd *Xaguas*, as big as Veal-Kidneys, which being beaten, and laid by, four or five Days, tho' not gather'd ripe, are full of a Liquor like Honey, and better tasted than the sweetest Pears. There are Abundance of wild Vines, that run up high, bearing Grapes, and Wine has been made of them, but somewhat aigre, and there being an infinite Quantity of them throughout all the Island, the *Spaniards* were wont to say, they had seen a Vineyard that extended two hundred and thirty Leagues. Some of the Trunks of those Vines are as thick as a Man's Body, which proceeded from the extraordinary Moisture and Fertility of the Soil. All the Island is very pleasant, and more temperate than *Hispaniola*, very healthy, has safer Harbours for many Ships than if they had been

been made by Art, as is that of *Santiago* on the Southern Coast, being in the Shape of a Cross. That of *Xagua* is scarce to be match'd in the World, the Ships pass into it through a narrow Mouth, not above a Cross-bow Shot over, and then turn into the open Part of it, which is about ten Leagues in Compass, with three little Islands so posited that they may make fast their Ships to Stakes on them, and they will never budge, all the Compass being shelter'd by Mountains, as if they were in a House, and there the *Indians* had Pens to shut up the Fish. On the North Side there are good Harbours, the best being that which was call'd *de Carenas*, and now the *Havana*, so large that few can compare to it; and twenty Leagues to the Eastward of it is that of *Matanzas*, which is not very safe. About the Middle of the Island is another good Port, call'd *del Principe*, and almost at the End, that of *Baracoa*, where much good Ebony is cut; between which there are other good anchoring Places, tho' not large.

THERE are Abundance of Fowl in *Cuba*, as Pidgeons, Turtle-Doves, Partridges, like those in *Spain*, but smaller, of which there are none in the other Islands, nor Cranes, except on the Continent. Another Sort of Birds there was, of which they had none on the Continent, of the Size of Cranes, which at first are very white, and by Degrees turn red, now call'd *Flamencos*, and would have been much valu'd by the *Indians* of *New-Spain*, if they had had them, for the curious Feather Works they made. These being always five hundred or one thousand in a Flock, they look'd like Sheep daub'd with red. They seldom fly, but stand on the Ground in the Sea, their Legs in the Water, and drink the salt Water. If the *Indians* took any to keep in their Houses, they were fain to put Salt into their Water. There is an infinite Multitude of Parrots, and about *May*, when young, they

eat

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eat them, being very good Meat. In Order to take them, the *Indians* us'd to fet a Boy of ten or eleven Years of Age on a Tree, with a live Parrot, and a little Grass or Straw on his Head, when he touch'd the Parrot's Head with his Hand it cry'd out, the others that were so numerous, hearing it, resorted thither, and lodging on the Tree, the Boy who had a small Rod in his Hand, with a Noose at the End of it, clapp'd it about each Parrot's Neck, they imagining that the Rod had been a Twig of the Tree, and drawing them to him, wrung their Necks, and let them fall, till the Ground underneath was cover'd with them, and thus he might kill Thousands, for as long as the Parrot that was ty'd made a noise, the others never left the Tree, and thus the *Spaniards* now do with the Doves. There is a Sort of Birds that fly close to the Surface of the Earth, by the *Indians* call'd *Babiyas*, which the Natives could run down. When boil'd, they made the Broth of a Saffron Colour, were well tasted, and serv'd instead of Pheasants.

As for four-footed Creatures they had a Sort which the *Indians* hunted, call'd *Guaniniquinajes*, as big as little Lap Dogs, their Flesh very well tasted; but after the *Spanish* Swine came into the Island there were no more of them, as hapned with the *Uti*s in *Hispaniola*. A Sort of Snakes they have, as thick as a Man's Thigh, all grey, so dull, that they us'd to tread upon them as they lay roul'd up, and they scarce felt it. The *Iguanas* were shap'd like the Alligators, very ugly, as big as Lap Dogs, of several Colours; the *Spaniards* say their Flesh tastes like Pheasant, and they still eat them. The Sea on both Sides of the Island yields Abundance of Fish of several Sorts; and the Islands being so numerous on the South Side, where they are call'd the Queen's Gardin, the Quantiry of Tortoises is immense, so large, that the Fat and Flesh of one commonly weighs an hundred Weight, being

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ing very pleasant to eat, and wholesome, the Fat being like the Grease of a Hen, looking of a Gold Colour when melted, and they cure the Itch and Leprosy. *Cazabi*, the Bread of the Island, is very plentiful, and no other Island abounded so much in Provisions. Gold was found in several Rivers and Brooks, some better some worse.

THE first Inhabitants of this Island were the same as those of the *Lucayos*, a good Sort of People, and well temper'd. They had *Caziques*, and Towns of two or three hundred Houses, with several Families in each of them, as was usual in *Hispaniola*. They had no Religion, as having no Temples, or Idols, or Sacrifices; but they had the Physicians or conjuring Priests, as in *Hispaniola*, who it was thought had Communication with the Devil, and their Questions answer'd by him. They fasted three or four Months to obtain that Favour, eating nothing but the Juice of Herbs, and when reduc'd to extream Weakness, they were worthy of that hellish Apparition, and to be inform'd, whether the Seasons of the Year would be favourable or otherwise, what Children would be born, whether those born would live, and such like Questions. These were their Oracles, and these Conjurers they call'd *Bebiques*, who led the People into many Superstitions, and Fopperies, curing the Sick by blowing on them, and such other exterior Actions, mumbling some Words between their Teeth. These People of *Cuba* knew that Heaven, the Earth, and other Things had been created, and said they had much Information concerning the Flood, and that the World had been destroy'd by Water, from three Persons that came three several Ways. Men of above seventy Years of Age, said, that an old Man knowing the Deluge was to come, built a great Ship, and went into it, with his Family and Abundance of Animals, that he sent out a Crow, which did not return, staying

to

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The ark

to feed on the dead Bodies, and afterwards return'd with a green Branch, with other Particulars, as far as *Noah's* Sons covering him when drunk, and the other scoffing at it; adding, that the *Indians* descended from the latter, and therefore had no Coats nor Cloaks; but that the *Spaniards*, descending from the other that cover'd him, were therefore cloath'd and had Horses. What has been here said, was told by an *Indian* of above seventy Years of Age to *Gabriel de Cabrera*, who one Day quarrelling with him, call'd him Dog, whereupon he ask'd, Why he abus'd and call'd him Dog, since they were Brethren, as descending from two Sons of him that made the great Ship, with all the rest that has been said above. The same he repeated in the Presence of several *Spaniards*, after his Master had reported it. As to their Laws and Customs, since they liv'd in Towns and had Lords, it is likely their Will was a Law, and were rul'd by Justice, many affirming, that the Natives of *Cuba*, *St. John de Puerto Rico*, *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica* were not guilty of the Sin of Sodomy, nor did they eat human Flesh; and tho' *Obiedo* is of Opinion that they were Sodomites, other Men of as much Reputation as he deny it, and reprove him for it, and the most probable Opinion is, that all those Islands were first inhabited by People that came over from *Florida*. Having given this Account of *Cuba*, I will add something of what *James Velasquez* did there. He set out from *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, in *November* this Year 1511, and landed at a Port call'd *Palmas*, in the Territories of the above mention'd Caziue *Hatuey*, that went thither from *Hispaniola*, who stood upon his Defence, taking the Advantage of the Woods, where the *Spaniards* could not make Use of their Horses. After two Months thus spent, the *Indians* hid themselves in the thickest Part of those Forests, and the *Spaniards* hunting them, they carry'd all they took to *James Velasquez*, who distributed them among

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among his Men, not as Slaves but Servants. *Harney* still withdrew into the most inaccessible Places, however after much Time and Toil he was taken, and carry'd to *James Velasquez*, who caus'd him to be burnt, whereupon all the Province of *Mayci* submitted, none daring to hold out.

ABOUT this Time, the King of *Spain* issu'd fresh Orders for promoting the Conversion of the *Indians*, and their being well instructed in the Christian Religion. Nor did he take less Care of the Civil Government, directing among other Things, that those People should not be oppress'd, and that for easing of them, Numbers of Blacks should be carry'd over to work in the Mines, because one of them did more than four of the Natives. The Affairs of *Jamaica* went on prosperously, because *John de Esquivel* having soon brought the Inhabitants into Subjection, without any Effusion of Blood, they labour'd in planting Cotton, and other Improvements, which yielded very much Profit, and the Breeds of Cattle increas'd. The Admiral acquainting the King, how well *John de Esquivel* behav'd himself, did it with so much Earnestness, being his Friend, that his Majesty suspected some Design, and order'd the Treasurer *Passamonte* to send an Account of him, which afforded him an Opportunity to slander the Admiral. That Monarch being naturally jealous, and giving Credit to the malicious Insinuations of the said *Passamonte*, and others who envy'd the Admiral, sent for his Uncle the Adelantado *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, and giving him the Lieutenancy of the Island *Mona*, and two hundred *Indians* more than he had before in *Hispaniola*, sent him thither with fresh Instructions to the Admiral, giving him very fair Words, but at the same Time laying many Faults to his Charge, and curbing him in several Particulars. All this was owing to the aforesaid *Passamonte*, who did all he could to discredit the Admiral, in Or-

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der to get him remov'd, and ingross all the Power into his own Hands. With *Don Bartholomew Columbus* were sent over one hundred Jackets stuff'd with Cotton, being good against the poison'd Arrows of the Canibals, one hundred Fire-Arms, and as many Cross-Bows, and it was order'd, that as many labouring People as were willing should be permitted to go over to the *Indies*, and for their Encouragement they should be inform'd of the great Wealth which was there to be had.



C H A P. III.

Basco Nuñez de Balboa attacks the Cazique Dabayba; the Caziques conspire against him; the War with those Conspirators; Deputies sent from Darien into Spain.



ALDIBIA and *Enciso* being sent away from *Darien* for *Hispaniola*, about the latter End of the Year 1511, at the Beginning of 1512, *Basco Nuñez* resolv'd to march up the Country, to search for Provisions and Gold; and having been inform'd by some *Indians*, that a *Cazique* of the Province of *Dabayba* had a Temple full of Gold, which was offer'd there, he prepar'd to go in Quest of that Place with two Brigantines, and some Canoes. He set out with one hundred and sixty able Men, well inur'd to Fighting and Labour, tho' not gay or graceful, ordering *Roderick Enriquez de Colmenares*,

nares, with one third Part of them to go up the great River, which is twice as large as that of *Darien*, and nine Leagues from it to the Eastward, going himself up another River. *Cemaco* the Cazique of *Darien* having withdrawn himself to *Dabayba*, and keeping Spies abroad, as soon as he heard that *Basco Núñez* was moving that Way, he abandon'd the Country, and the *Spaniards* marching through it, found many Nets to take wild Beasts, as Deer, and Swine that have their Navel on the Back, and make water there; as also another Sort of Creatures smaller than the Swine, whose Head is said to weigh as much as all the Body, and they have no Gaul. He thinking those had been fishing Nets, call'd that *Rio de las Redes*, that is the River of Nets. They took two large Canoes, besides little ones, one hundred Bows, many Bundles of Arrows, and the Value of seven thousand Peices of eight in Gold. *Basco Núñez* being satisfy'd with this Booty return'd towards the Sea, or the Bay of *Uraba*, into which these two great Rivers fall, where such a Storm arose, that they all expected to have been drowned, yet only those perish'd that were in the Canoes that carry'd the Gold. Returning up the great River, he came to a Territory, the Cazique whereof was call'd *Turin*, where he found *Colmenares*, and furnish'd himself with Provisions. Advancing twelve Leagues up that River, they found an Island, which they call'd of *Cassiafistula*, because there was Plenty of it, tho' wild, and they eat so much that it had like to have kill'd them. As soon as recover'd, they went on along the right Hand of the Island, where they saw another River fall into it, whose Water look'd very black, the Cause whereof they knew not, but call'd it *Rio Negro*, or Black River. Proceeding along it five or six Leagues, they came into the Territories of a Lord, whose Name was *Abenamechey*, where they saw a Town of five hundred Houses, all of them at a di-

stance from one another. The Inhabitants fled, till perceiving they were pursu'd, they stood upon their Defence, being arm'd with Swords made of Palm-tree Wood, and long Darts, the Points of them hardned at the Fire; but not being able to stand the *Spanish* Weapons, they fled, leaving their Lord *Abenamechey*, and some of their prime Men Prisoners. A *Spaniard*, whom that Cazique had wounded, came up then, and at one Stroke cut off his Arm, which *Basco Nunez* was much concern'd at, and leaving *Colmenares* there with half the Men, went up that River with the rest, and entring another that fell into it, about twenty Leagues from the Island of *Cassafistula*, and near the Mouth of it, came into the Lordship of the Cazique *Abibeyba*, where the Country being full of Lakes and Quagmires, the People built their Houses on very large and tall Trees, a strange Sort of Habitation, and there had their several Chambers and Apartments of Timber, in which all the Family liv'd, as strong as if they had been fix'd upon the Ground. They had Ladders, and commonly two of them, one reaching half way up the Tree, and the other to the Door, made of only one Cane split in the Middle, those Canes being there thicker than a Man's Waste; taking them up at Night, so that they were safe against Men and Beasts, sleeping undisturb'd, tho' there are many Tygers in those Parts. All the Provisions were above with them, except their Liquor, which stood in Vessels on the Ground, for fear they should be foul, for tho' their Houses could not fall, the Trees being very tall, they were subject to shake with the Wind, and that Motion made their Liquor thick. The Boys were so expert at running up and down, that when their Masters were eating, they stay'd no longer than if they had gone to a Side-board for Drink. The Cazique *Abibeyba*, who was in his House, when the *Spaniards* came, drew up his Ladders; they call'd

to him to come down, and fear nothing. He answer'd, he would not, bidding them let him live in Peace in his own House, since he had given them no Provocation. They protested, they would hew down his Tree with their Axes, or set fire to it, and burn him with his Wife and Children. He again bid them let him alone, and he gone to their own Country; and his own People advis'd him, not to come down, nor trust them. The *Spaniards* laid on with their Axes, and when they saw the Chips fly, the *Cazique*, his Wife, and two Childen came down. They ask'd him, whether he had any Gold. He answer'd, he had not, for that being of no Use to him, he did not take Care to get any; but being much importun'd, he said, if they were so fond of it, he would go to certain Mountains that were behind others he shew'd them, and bring some as soon as he had it. They let him go, keeping his Wife and Children as Hostages, he promising to return by a set Time, but did not, whereupon they prosecuted their Way up the River, having been plentifully supply'd with Provisions. All the Towns along the River were abandon'd, for which Reason *Basco Núñez* return'd down it again, and so along *Rio Negro*, or the black River, to join *Colmenares*, and found that the *Spaniards* having stray'd about, some of them had been kill'd; particularly, that one, whose Name was *Raya*, having gone with nine others to the Town of the *Cazique Abayba*, the *Indians* falling upon them slew *Raya* and two others, the other seven making their Escape.

THE *Cazique Abenamechry* wandering about the Woods, with but one Arm, the other having been cut off, as was said before, to avoid being again found by the *Spaniards*, accidentally met with him that had the House upon a Tree. They agreed to go away to the House of their Neighbour, the *Cazique Abayba*, and all three of them resolv'd to be reveng'd, falling up-
on

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on the *Spaniards* before others join'd them. They gather'd about six hundred *Indians*, and on the Day appointed, with dreadful Out-cries fell upon the *Spaniards*, at *Rio Negro*, without knowing, that they had been join'd by thirty sent before by *Basco Nuñez*. They did no great Hurt, but the *Spaniards* after discharging their Cross-Bows, falling in with their Lances and Swords, made such Havock, that very few escap'd being kill'd or taken, besides the Lords. The Captives were sent to *Darien*, where they were employ'd in tilling the Ground, and carrying Burdens when the *Spaniards* went aboard. *Basco Nuñez* then thought fit to return to *Darien*, leaving thirty-one Men at the Town of *Abenemechey*, and *Rio Negro*, to secure the Country, and hinder the Natives from rallying, under the Command of *Bartholomew Hurtado*, who making some Excursions, took several of the Natives in the Woods, and sent twenty-four of them to *Darien*, and with them twenty-one *Spaniards* who were sick, only ten remaining with *Hurtado*. Those *Indians* and Christians were put aboard a large Canoe, four Canoes of the Cazique *Cemaco's* Men attack'd it, who kill'd some, and all the rest except two were drowned in the River. Those two escap'd upon two Pieces of Timber, which the Stream carry'd along, covering themselves with some Boughs that came in their Way, the *Indians* being so intent upon killing the rest, that they did not regard them. When come to Shore, they return'd to carry the News to *Bartholomew Hurtado*, where considering the Danger they were in, and the ill Success they had at *Rio Negro*, they resolv'd to go away to *Darien*, but enquiring among the *Indians*, what they knew of the Country, they were inform'd, that five Caziques, which were *Abibeyba*, who had his House on a Tree, *Cemaco* of *Darien*, *Abrayba*, whom the *Spaniards* had not yet reach'd, *Abenemechey* who had lost his Arm, and *Dehayba* who had fled without
daring

daring to stand them, had conspir'd together, and resolv'd at a Day appointed to attack *Darien*, with all their Subjects. *Hurtado* and his Companions carry'd this Advice to *Darien*, where it was not believ'd, till an *Indian Woman Basco Nuñez* much valu'd confirm'd it, having been inform'd by her Brother, who sometimes came to see her, that all the *Caziques* of the Country about had agreed to fall upon the *Spaniards* by Water and by Land, to which Purpose they had assembled five thousand Men, and one hundred Canoes, having great Store of Provisions at the Town of *Tichiriri*. That Woman, as soon as her Brother was gone, discover'd the whole Contrivance to *Basco Nuñez*, he desir'd her to send for her Brother, upon some Pretence, who being come, he oblig'd him to confess all he had said to his Sister, adding, that his Lord *Cemaco*, who tho' fled, had sent forty Men to work for the *Spaniards*, under Colour that he would be their Friend, had directed them to kill *Basco Nuñez*, if they could find an Opportunity, when he went out to see them at their Labour. Having receiv'd this Confirmation, *Basco Nuñez* march'd with seventy chosen Men, well disciplin'd, as all he had were, and without saying any thing of his Design, commanded *Roderick Enriquez de Colmenares*, with seventy more in four Canoes, and taking the *Indian Woman's* Brother along with him for his Guide, to make up to the Town of *Tichiriri*, where the Magazine of Provisions was made. *Basco Nuñez* himself went to a Place, three Leagues off, where he thought to have found *Cemaco*; but missing of him, took a Kinsman of his, and some other Men and Women. *Colmenares* succeeded better, for he met with the Captain General, that was to command all the Confederates, with other prime Persons, and a great Number of Men, little thinking that the *Spaniards* knew any thing of their Designs. He took most of them, found the Place full of Provisions, caus'd

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caus'd the General to be shot, and other great ones to be hang'd in the Sight of the other Prisoners, by that Means to strike a Terror, and keep the rest of the People in Subjection. This Surprize astonish'd all the Province, finding their Project discover'd, so that they utterly despair'd of being ever able to cast off the Yoke. After this Victory, *Basco Nunez*, who was a most provident and well advis'd Commander, order'd a strong wooden Fort to be built, to be the better able to oppose the Natives, in case of another Conspiracy like the former.

THIS Province being thus subdu'd, they began to consider of sending other Deputies to the King, with an Account of what they had done, and heard, and to desire one thousand Men, as has been mention'd before; as also to the Admiral for some speedy Supplies in the mean Time. *Basco Nunez* offer'd to go himself upon this Message into *Spain*; but all unanimously oppos'd it, not thinking themselves safe without him, because he was dreaded by the *Indians*, and belov'd by his own Men. After many Contests it was resolv'd to send *John de Cayzedo*, a discreet Man, who had his Wife there, whom he had carry'd from *Spain*, confiding in his Discretion, that he would manage their Affairs well, and not questioning his Return, because he left his Wife behind. Another Controversy arose about assigning him a Companion, for fear he might happen to die, and at length the Lot fell upon *Roderick Enriquez de Colmenares*, which was acceptable to them all, because he was a Gentleman, a Person of Experience in martial and political Affairs, both by Sea and Land, having been in the Wars in *Italy* against the *French*, besides that he had much Wealth, and Land till'd at *Darien*. In order to succeed the better, they deliver'd to these Messengers the fifth of the Gold belonging to the King, and with it a voluntary Contribution rais'd among themselves. The *Indians* at this Time

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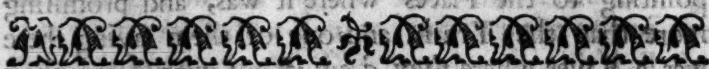
talk'd of nothing but Gold, to please the *Spaniards*, pointing to the Places where it was, and promising more than the Truth, and one of them saying there was a River where they drew it out with Nets, they carry'd him into *Spain*, to tell the King the same; the Report whereof did so spread about the Kingdom, that thousands were earnest to go a fishing for it, and therefore this Province which had been before nam'd *Andaluzia*, was now call'd *Castilla del Oro*, or golden *Castile*. The Deputies set out from *Darien* towards the latter End of *October*, this Year 1512, escaping many Dangers in a little Brigantine; and arriv'd at *Cuba* after three Months, where the *Indians* gave them a good Reception, furnishing Provisions for Hawk-bells, and other Trifles. At length they came to *Hispaniola*, where they made but a short Stay, meeting with Ships ready to sail for *Spain*, aboard which they embark'd, and arriv'd at the Court in *May* following, which was in the Year 1513, where *Enciso* was before, having endur'd very much before he arriv'd at *Hispaniola*, as did many others who made that Voyage, because they were not so expert in Navigation as they are now.



VOL. II.

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CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

The Proceedings of the Spaniards in the Island of Cuba; Divisions among them; Ferdinand Cortes imprison'd; James Velasquez pardons him; what hapned to a Preacher there.



TO return to the Island of *Cuba*, the Province of *Mayci* having been subdu'd the last Year 1511, by the Death of the Cazique *Harney*, as was said before, when it was known in *Jamaica*, that Captain *James Velasquez* was in *Cuba*, many of those who were with *John de Esquivel* ask'd leave to go over to serve under him. *Panfilo de Narvaez*, a Gentleman well born, went as Commander of thirty Archers. He was a Man of a graceful Presence, tall, fair of Complexion, turning upon ruddy, honourable, well discours'd and behav'd, but not over discreet, and negligent. He was well receiv'd with his Archers by *James Velasquez*, who gave him the chief Command next to himself, so that he govern'd all Things under him. The *Indians* of that Province of *Mayci* being quite suppress'd, *James Velasquez* began to think of dividing them among the *Spaniards*, as *Obando* had done by those in *Hispaniola*, and took to himself those of five Towns, where he had been Lieutenant, and to this Purpose he founded a Town at a Harbour on the North Side, which Place was by the

the Natives call'd *Baracoa*, and this was the first *Spanish* Colony in that Island. From this Place he sent *Narvaez*, with thirty Men to the Province, of *Bayama*, forty or fifty Leagues from *Baracoa*, free from Mountains, and agreeable. Only *Narvaez* rode on a Mare, all the rest marching a-foot. The Natives of the Country came out to meet them with Provisions, because they had no Gold, being astonish'd at the sight of the great Beast, the like whereof they had never seen, and that a Man on the Back of it could do as he did, for the Mare was mettlesome, and prancing about threw up her Heels, as if she had kick'd. The *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in an *Indian* Town, the Inhabitants whereof observing their small Number, resolv'd to rid themselves of them. Tho' *Narvaez*, as has been said, was not very cautious, he had his Mare in the same *Bohio* or thatch'd House where he lay, and a Guard at Night. Near seven thousand *Indians* assembled from all Parts of the Province, with their Bows and Arrows, as naked as they were born. They fell upon *Narvaez* and his Men, after Midnight, tho' it was unusual for them to fight at that Time. They gave the Attack in two Parties, and found the Sentinels asleep. The best of it was, that being earnest to plunder the *Spaniards* Cloaths, for they ever coveted to be cloath'd, since first they saw them, they did not observe the Time they had agreed on, so that one Party was more forward than the other, and enter'd the Town shouting, unexpectedly. *Narvaez* awak'd in a Consternation, having been sound asleep, as the rest were. The *Indians* went into the thatch'd Houses, where finding the *Spaniards*, they neither wounded nor kill'd them, being wholly intent upon getting their Cloaths. The Shouts having surpriz'd them asleep, the *Spaniards* in that Fright, knew not whether they were alive or dead. Those *Indians* *Narvaez* had carry'd with him from *Jamaica*, lighted

Fire-brands, and those of *Cuba* by the Light discovering *Narvaez*, who began to come to himself, one of them threw a Stone, which hitting him near the Pit of the Stomach, beat him down, and thoroughly awak'd him, whereupon he said to a *Franciscan* Friar who was there, that he had kill'd him. The Friar encouraging him, and he coming to himself, they saddled the Mare, he mounted bare-footed, with nothing on but his Shirt, and another Cotton one over it, and fastning a Parcel of Hawk-bells to the Crupper, he only gallop'd about the Square, without touching one *Indian*, for as soon as they heard him coming, they all fled into the Wood, being so terrify'd by the Mare, and the Sound of the Bells, that neither Men, Women, nor Children made any stay till they got into another Province, call'd *Camaguey*, fifty Leagues distant, leaving their own Country quite unpeopled, *James Velasquez* being inform'd of what had hapned, march'd all over it, and found no-body, but only some very old and sick Persons.

As soon as *Narvaez* understood that they were gone to *Camaguey*, he pursu'd them, but going late overtook none, and having but few Men, did not think fit to go too far. Before *James Velasquez* knew what had befallen *Narvaez*, or march'd from *Baracoa*, there were some discontented Persons among his Men, because he did not treat them so well as they expected, and particularly *Francis de Morales*, a Man of some Account, whom the Admiral had sent as a Commander under him, yet so as not to be in his Power to remove him, *Velasquez* perceiving that there was a Disturbance in his Government, drew up a Process against Captain *Morales*, and sent him Prisoner to the Admiral, and upon this Account the Complaints against him daily increas'd. At this Time Advice came to *Cuba*, that Judges of Appeal were arriv'd from *Spain* in *Hispaniola*, whereupon the Malecontents agreed in private

to draw up their Informations, and send them to those new Judges, and for as much as it was necessary to send a proper Messenger of their own, they found none so ready, or so daring (for he was to cross the Sea between the two Islands, which were eighteen Leagues distant) as *Ferdinand Cortes*, whom *James Velasquez* had carry'd from *Hispaniola*, as his Secretary; and with him *Andrew de Duero*, a discreet Man, very silent, and no Way inferior to *Cortes*, but in that the latter understood *Latin*, which he knew how to make his Advantage of, for in other Respects he broke Jest, and was apt to be too open, and therefore not so fit for a Secretary; tho' he was sly and cautious, yet at that Time he did not appear to be so knowing, or of so extensive a Capacity as he afterwards shew'd in Affairs of greater Moment. When he was ready to go aboard a Canoe, with his Dispatches, *James Velasquez* seiz'd and was for hanging him. Several Persons interceded for him, whereupon he order'd him to be put aboard a Ship to be sent to *Hispaniola*; but he finding Means to get off his Fetters, tho' he could not swim, when the Ship's Crew were asleep, threw himself into the Sea, with a Log of Wood in his Arms. The Water ebbing at that Time, carry'd him out to Sea above a League beyond the Ship; but the Flood returning, brought him back again to Shore, tho' so tir'd and perplex'd, that he was about quitting the Log, and suffering himself to drown. However being ashore, and considering that when the Day appear'd, he should be miss'd aboard the Ship, and sought after, he hid himself, and when it was Time got into a Church. *John Xuares*, a Native of *Granada*, who had a very modest maiden Sister, living near the Church, where *Cortes* had taken Sanctuary, he took a liking to, and made it known to her, and taking the Liberty one Day to go abroad to make Love, an Alguazil, whose Name was *John Escudero*, whom *Cortes* afterwards hang'd

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hang'd in *New Spain*, coming in at the other Door of the Church, took him in his Arms by the Back, and carry'd him to Goal. The *Alcaldes* proceeded against him, and pass'd a severe Sentence. He appeal'd to *James Velasquez*, who being of a generous Disposition, and not revengeful, at the Request of several Persons, and particularly of *Andrew de Duera*, a great Friend to *Cortes*, forgave, but would not admit him into his Service again, which brought him so low for some Months, that he valu'd any Kindness done him by *Velasquez's* Servants. He marry'd *Catherine Xugrez*, with whom he said he was as well pleas'd as if she had been a Duke's Daughter, because she was very virtuous. He had a Son, but I cannot be positive whether by her, or another; and desir'd *James Velasquez* to stand God-father, which he did; and having resolv'd to build Towns, he distributed the *Indians* among the *Spaniards*, giving *Cortes* Land, and a good Number of them, in that which was afterwards call'd the City of *Santiago*, making him *Alcalde* in ordinary, being of such a Disposition, that he forgave all Offences. Nor was *Cortes* backward in endeavouring to please him; for he was extraordinary subtle, insomuch that he entirely regain'd his Affection, and manag'd his *Indians* so well, that he came to be worth three thousand Pieces of eight in Gold, which was much Wealth in those Days.

To return to the Place, where we left *James Velasquez*, he was inform'd by the *Indian*, that a Ship was arriv'd at the Port of *Xagua*, with some *Spaniards*, the Distance being about two hundred Leagues; whereupon he sent a Canoe well mann'd with *Indians*, to carry a Letter, directing them to repair to him. *Sebastian de Ocampo*, who commanded that Ship, and was the same that had sail'd round the Island in the Year 1508, having then been to carry Provisions to *Darien*, and dispos'd of them, returning to *Hispaniola*,

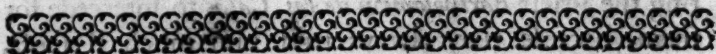
niola, was well pleas'd with this Message, because his Ship was quite disabled, and therefore leaving it there with three Pipes of Wine, and four *Spaniards* to secure them, he went aboard the Canoe, with fifteen of his Men, and repair'd to *James Velasquez*. Soon after *Velasquez* went away to *Baracoa*, to marry a Lady that was come out of *Spain* for that Purpose. The Wedding was celebrated with much Joy on a *Sunday*, but the next *Saturday* his Wife dy'd. This was the Posture, when *Narvaez* return'd from the Pursuit of the *Indians* above-mention'd, having done nothing; but they soon after came again lamenting, and begging Pardon for what they had done, declaring it had been a Madness, and that they were very sorry for it, setting the Priest *Bartholomew de las Casas* to intercede for them, because they always paid him much Respect, and then carry'd him a small Present of Strings of their Sort of Beads, which were like rotten Teeth, but highly valu'd by them. They were all forgiven, and return'd to their Houses. The Cause of their Returning was, because the Inhabitants of the Province of *Comagney*, could not entertain them, for tho' all Parts of the *Indies* are very fruitful, those People never kept more than was necessary for their own Use, which seldom fail'd them by reason of the seasonable Weather. Thus the *Spaniards* could never be besieg'd in any of their Forts above eight Days, the Provisions every where falling short, and being to be carry'd on Men's Backs, the Store was small, and the very Men that carry'd, wanted it for themselves.

THE Person who had been nominated Bishop of the Town of the *Conception* in *Hispaniola* staying long away, sent before him one *Don Carlos de Aragon*, a famous Preacher, with the Title of his Provisor. This Man being favour'd by some of the great ones, was follow'd by all the People, and the more because he us'd to rail at the *Dominicans*, who always preach'd in Fa-

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your of the *Indians*. This Applause made him so vain and conceited, that he often lash'd out against *St. Thomas Aquinas*, and utter'd many scandalous Doctrines. Complaint being made of his Insolence in *Spain*, he went over thither, and travelling in a mean Habit, preach'd every where, being follow'd by Abundance of People, as far as *Burgos*. At length he was seiz'd by the Inquisition, which oblig'd him to recant, and anathematize twenty-five erroneous Propositions he had maintain'd, in the Cathedral Church of *Burgos*; adjudging him besides never more to preach, to be confin'd during Life, and do perpetual Penance in a Monastery.



CHAP. V.

John Ponce de Leon sails to the Northward, discovers Florida, and returns to St. John de Puerto Rico; mistaken Notion of the Indians concerning the Spring of Bimini, and the River Jordan.



JOHN Ponce de Leon being out of Employment, because the Government of the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico* had been restor'd to *John Ceron* and *Michael Diaz*, and having gather'd much Wealth, he resolv'd to do something that might gain him Honour, and encrease his Estate; and being inform'd, that there were Lands to the Northward, thought fit to go make Discoveries

coveries that Way. To this Purpose, he fitted out three Ships well stor'd with Provisions, and Men, and sail'd from the Port of *St. German*, on *Thursday* the third of *March* 1512, making for *Aguada*, to steer his Course from thence. The next Night he stood away North-West and by North, running eight Leagues by Sun-Rising. Proceeding till *Tuesday* following, being the eighth of the same Month, they came to an Anchor at the Shoals of *Babueca*, near an Island call'd *del Viejo*, or the Old Man's, lying in the Latitude of twenty-two Degrees and a half. The next Day they anchor'd again at one of the *Lucayo* Islands, call'd *Caycos*, and then at another call'd *Yaguna*, in twenty-four Degrees Latitude. The eleventh of the same Month, they arriv'd at the Island *Amagwayo*, where they lay by, and then pass'd by the Island *Manegua*, in twenty-four Degrees and a half. The fourteenth they come up with *Guanahani*, in twenty-five Degrees four Minutes, where they refitted a Ship to cross the Bay to the Windward of the *Lucayos*. This Island *Guanahani* was the first the Admiral *Christopher Columbus* discover'd, when he landed at his first Voyage, and call'd it *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour. From hence they steer'd North-West, and on *Sunday* the twenty-seventh, being *Easter-Day*, in *Spanish* call'd *Pasqua de Flores*, they saw an Island, and pass'd by. *Monday* the twenty-eighth, they held on fifteen Leagues the same Way, as they did on *Wednesday*, when the Weather proving foul, they stood till the second of *April* West North-West, the Water growing Shoal till they came to nine Fathoms, a League from the Land, which was in thirty Degrees eight Minutes. They ran along the Coast seeking some Harbour, and at Night anchor'd near the Shore in eight Fathoms Water. Believing that Land to be an Island, they nam'd it *Florida*, because it appear'd very delightful, having many pleasant Groves, and it was all level; as

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also because they discover'd it at *Easter*, which as has been said, the *Spaniards* call *Pasqua de Flores*, or *Florida*. *John Ponce* went ashore to discover and take Possession. *Friday* the eighth they sail'd again the same Way, and on *Saturday* South and by East till the twentieth of *April*, they perceiv'd some *Indian* *Bohios*, or Cottages, where they anchor'd. The next Day the three Ships keeping along the Edge of the Sea, they met with a Current so strong that it drove them back, tho' they had the Wind large. The two Ships that were nearest to Land dropp'd their Anchors, but the Force of the Current was so great that it strain'd the Cables. The third which was a Brigantine, and farther out at Sea, either found no Bottom, or was not sensible of the Current, which carry'd it so far from the Shore that they lost Sight of it, tho' the Day was bright, and the Weather fair.

John Ponce being call'd by the *Indians*, went ashore, and they immediately endeavour'd to possess themselves of the Boat, the Oars, and the Arms, which was born with, rather than provoke them; till one of them stunning a Sailor with a Stroak of a Cudgel he gave him on the Head, the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to fight, and had two of their Men wounded with Darts, and Arrows, pointed with sharp Bones, and the *Indians* receiv'd little Damage. Night parting them, *John Ponce* with some Difficulty got his Men together, and sail'd from thence to a River, where they wooded and water'd, and waited for the Brigantine. Sixty *Indians* came to oppose them, one of whom was taken to give some Information, and to learn *Spanish*. This River they call'd *de la Cruz*, or of the Cross, leaving one of Stone there with an Inscription. *Sunday* the eighth of *May* they doubled the Cape of *Florida*, giving it the Name of *Cabo de las Corrientes*, or Cape Currents, because they are stronger there than the Wind, and came to an Anchor near a Town call'd *Abaica*. All this

this Coast; from Cape *Arracifes* to this Cape *Corrientes* lies North and South, one Point to the Eastward, is clean, and has six Fathoms Water, the Cape lying in eighteen Degrees fifteen Minutes. They sail'd on till they met with two Islands to the Southward in twenty-seven Degrees; one of which, being a League in Compass, they nam'd *Santa Marta*, and water'd there. *Friday* the thirteenth of *May*, they sail'd along a Shoal, and a Ridge of Islands, as far as one they call'd *Pola*, lying in twenty-six Degrees and a half. Between the Shoal and Row of Islands and the Continent is a spacious Sea, like a Bay. On *Whisunday*, the fifteenth of *May*, they proceeded ten Leagues along the Ridge of small Islands as far as two white ones, and call'd them altogether *los Martires*, or the Martyrs, because the high Rocks, at a Distance, look like Men that are suffering, and the Name has fitted them well on Account of the many that have since been cast away there. They lye in twenty-six Degrees fifteen Minutes. They held on, sometimes North and sometimes North-East, till the twenty-third of *May*, and on the twenty-fourth ran along the Coast, to the Southward, as far as some small Islands that lay out at Sea, and yet did not perceive that was the Continent. A Way appearing to be between them and the Coast for the Ships to take Wood and Water, they continu'd there till the third of *June*, and careen'd one of the Ships call'd *St. Christopher*. Here the *Indians* came out in Canoes to view the Christians, being the first Time they did so, for the *Spaniards*, tho' call'd by them, would not go ashore. When they went about to weigh an Anchor only to remove it, those People thinking they were going away, came out in their Canoes, and laid hold of the Cable, to draw the Ship away; whereupon the Long-Boat was sent after them, and the Men going ashore took four Women, and broke two old Canoes. At other

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Times when they came, there was no falling out, as finding no Opportunity, but on the contrary they barter'd some Skins, and low Gold.

Friday the fourth of June, whilst they were waiting for a Wind to go in Quest of the Cazique Carlos, who the *Indians* that were aboard said had Gold, a Canoe came to the Ships with an *Indian* that understood the *Spaniards*, suppos'd to be a Native of *Hispaniola*, or some of the Islands inhabited by Christians, he bid them stay, for the Cazique would send Gold to barter. They waiting accordingly, saw twenty Canoes, Part of them made fast two and two together; some of them went to the Anchors, others to the Ships, and begun to fight. Those at the Anchors not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the Cables. A Long-Boat was sent out, which put them to Flight, taking four and killing some *Indians*. John Ponce sent two of them to tell the Cazique, that tho' he had kill'd a *Spaniard*, he would make Peace with him. The next Day the Boat went to sound the Harbour, and the Men landed. Some *Indians* came and told them, that the Cazique would come the next Day to trade; but it was an Imposition, to gain Time to draw Men and Canoes together, as it appear'd, for at eleven of the Clock, eighty Canoes well equipp'd, attack'd the nearest Ship, and fought from Morning till Night, without doing the *Spaniards* any Harm, the Arrows falling short, because they durst not come near, for fear of the Cross-Bows and Great Guns. At length they drew off, and the *Spaniards* having stay'd there nine Days, resolv'd on Monday the fourteenth to return to *Hispaniola* and *Puerto Rico*, discovering some Islands in the Way, of which the *Indians* they had with them gave an Account. They sail'd among Islands till Tuesday the twenty-first, when they arriv'd at the small Islands they call'd *las Tortugas*, or the Tortoises, because they took one hundred and seventy of them in a short Time

14 June

Time one Night in one of them, and might have taken more if they would. They also took fourteen Dog-Fishes, and kill'd many Sea Gulls, and as many of other Sorts of Birds as made up five thousand. *Friday* the twenty-fourth, they steer'd South-West and by West. On *Sunday* they saw Land, sail'd along it all *Monday*, and on *Wednesday* came to an Anchor, to trim their Yards and Sails, but could not tell what Country it was. Most of them took it for *Cuba*, because they found Canoes, Dogs, Cuts of Knives, and other iron Tools; yet none of them knew it to be that Island. The twenty-fifth of *July* they were among a Parcel of low Islands, without knowing, any Thing of that Place, till *John Ponce* sent to view an Island, which appear'd to be *Bahama*, and so an old *Indian* Woman they had found alone in another Island told them, as did *James Miruelo*, a Pilot, who happen'd to be there with a Boat from *Hispaniola*. Having rang'd backward and forward till the twenty-third of *September*, and refitted the Ships, *John Ponce* resolv'd to send one of them to take a View of the Island of *Bimini*, where the *Indians* said there was much Wealth, and a Spring that made old People young again. *John Perez de Ortubia* was appointed Captain of that Ship, and *Antony de Alaminos* Pilot. They took two *Indians* to shew the Shoals, there being so many, that it is a difficult Matter to pass between them. Twenty Days after, *John Ponce* return'd to *Puerto Rico*, as did some Time after him the Ship he had sent, which found the Island of *Bimini*, but not the wonderful Spring; yet the Island was large, pleasant, and abounding in other Waters, and delightful Groves.

It is certain, that *John Ponce de Leon*, besides the main Design of making new Discoveries, as all the *Spaniards* then aspir'd to do, was intent upon finding out the Spring of *Bimini*, and a River in *Florida*, the *Indians* of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola* affirming that old People bathing themselves

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themselves in them, became young again, and it was certain that many *Indians* of *Cuba*, firmly believing that there was such a River, had, not long before the *Spaniards* discover'd that Island, pass'd over into *Florida* in Quest of that River, and there built a Town, where the Race of them continues to this Day. This Report prevail'd with all the Princes and Caziques in those Parts, to endeavour to find out a River that wrought such a wonderful Change as making of old People young, so that there was not a River, or Brook, nor scarce a Lake, or Puddle in all *Florida*, but what they bath'd themselves in, and there are some still that persist in it, ignorantly believing that it is the River now call'd *Jordan*, at the Cape of *Santa Elena*, never reflecting, that the *Spaniards* first gave it that Name in the Year 1520, when the Country of *Chicora* was discover'd. Tho' this Voyage made by *John Ponce* turn'd to little or no Account to him, yet it gave him Encouragement to go to Court to sue for some Reward for the Countries he had discover'd, believing them to be all Islands, and no Continent, which Notion continu'd some Years. However that Voyage was beneficial on account of the Way soon after found out to return to *Spain*, through the Chanel of *Bahama*, which was first perform'd by the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos*, as shall be said in its Place. For the better understanding of *John Ponce's* Voyage, it is to be observ'd, That there are three different Parcels of *Lucayo* Islands. The first the *Bahama* Islands, which gave Name to the Chanel, where the Currents are most impetuous. The second they call'd *de los Organos*, and the third those of the Martyrs, which are next to the *Cayos* of the Tortoises to the Westward, which last being all Sand, cannot be seen at a Distance, and therefore many Ships have perish'd on them, and all along that Coast of the Chanel of *Bahama*, and the Islands *Tortugas*. *Havana* in the Island of *Cuba* is to the Southward,

ward, and *Florida* to the Northward, and between them are the aforeſaid Iſlands of *Organos*, *Bahama*, *Martyres*, and *Tortugas*, having a Chanel, with a violent Current, twenty Leagues over in the narroweſt Place between *Havana* and *los Martyres*, and fourteen Leagues from *los Martyres* to *Florida*, between Iſlands to the Eaſtward; and the wideſt Part of this Paſſage to the Weſtward is forty Leagues, with many Shoals, and deep Channels, but there is no Way for Ships or Brigantines, only for Canoes; but the Paſſage from *Havana* to come to *Spain*, is along the Chanel of *Bahama*, between the ſaid *Havana*, the *Martyres*, the *Lucayos*, and Cape *Cañaveral*.



C H A P. VI.

Controversies among the Spaniards at Darien; Baſco Nuñez de Balboa prepares to ſet out to diſcover the South-Sea; Proceedings of the Dominican Friars, in Favour of the Indians; Martyrdom of the Dominicans at Cumana; Cuba reduc'd; three Spaniards, two Women, and a Man found among the Indians in the Province of Havana.



AFTER *Roderick Enriquez de Colmenares*, and *John de Cayzedo* departed from *Darien*, as Deputies from thoſe People to the King, new Contentions aroſe among them, on account that *Bartholomew Hurtado*, who was much in Favour with *Baſco Nuñez*, took that as an Occaſion
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to insult others, who thought themselves as good as he. The Malecontents, headed by *Alonso Perez de la Rúa*, who most resented those Indignities, conspir'd together to seize upon *Basco Nuñez*, and depose him from his Authority over them, and with him *Bartholomew Hurtado*, as their principal Enemy. *Basco Nuñez*, being a cautious active Man, who knew all that was talk'd and in Agitation, prevented them, by securing *Alonso Perez*. The Conspirators had Recourse to Arms to rescue him, *Basco Nuñez*, with those that still adher'd to him, came out to oppose them. When they were ready to engage in the Market Place, some, who better consider'd the Consequences, interpos'd, asking them, why they would destroy one another, since whichsoever Party prevail'd was sure to perish at the Hands of the *Indians*? Whereupon they forbore fighting that Day, upon Condition that *Alonso Perez* should be releas'd; but the Prejudice still continuing, the next Day the Conspirators seiz'd *Bartholomew Hurtado*, tho', some Persons interposing, they soon let him go, but resolv'd to arrest *Basco Nuñez*, thinking by that Means to put an End to the Controversy, alledging, that he did not divide the Gold and S'aves according to Merit, and this they did in order to seize ten thousand Castellanos that were in Bank, and to divide them among themselves. *Basco Nuñez* being inform'd of it, went out of the Town that Night, upon Pretence of going a hunting, confiding that those whom he us'd to favour in the Dividends would not forsake him, and believing himself safer in the Country. It fell out as he expected, for the ten thousand Castellanos being seiz'd, *Alonso Perez* divided them, giving some of the meaner Sort more than was thought proper, and much less to those that were of a higher Rank. *Basco Nuñez* in the mean Time kept out of the Town, well dispos'd to leave those People of *Darien*, as knowing their restless Tempers; but in short, those of his Par-

ry were so much dissatisfy'd with the Distribution, that being sensible how well *Basco Nuñez* could distinguish between Men of Merit and Service, they fell upon the others, and seizing *Alonso Perez*, and the Batchelor *Corral*, put them into the Fort, where they kept them in Irons. Whilst these Things were in Agitation, and those People ready to destroy one another, two Ships arriv'd with one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, and their Lading of Provisions. Their Commander was *Christopher Serrano*, sent by the Admiral from *Hispaniola*, to the Relief of those at *Darien*. It was reported, that the Treasurer *Passamonte* sent *Basco Nuñez* a Commission, as Captain General of all that Country; for it was thought that he had Authority from the King to appoint Commanders, and Governours in the Continent, as he thought fit, which no-body was surpriz'd at, seeing the King so averse to the Admiral's Interest, and *Passamonte* and the other Officers so unanimous in contriving his Ruin, for their own Interest, and because they could not brook a Superior. *Basco Nuñez* was overjoy'd to be thus establish'd by royal Authority, for till then he had none but what he maintain'd by Force and Art. Having receiv'd this Supply, he resolv'd to subdue all the Country about, since his Men could no longer refuse to obey him, and it was not convenient to let them be idle. For Joy of his good Fortune, he upon small Entreaty releas'd the Prisoners, and was reconcil'd to them. This Satisfaction was soon abated, because the Batchelor *Enciso* living at the Court of *Spain*, and having complain'd of the Wrongs he pretended *Basco Nuñez* had done him, of his being the Occasion of *Nichessa's* perishing, and his worming himself into the Government; his Majesty was provok'd, order'd Process to be made against him, and he was accordingly adjudg'd to make good all that *Enciso* had lost by his Means, and to come to Court to answer for himself; of all which

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Zamudio gave him Notice, so that he was ever after very apprehensive of a Fall, hourly expecting some Body might come and depose him. These Thoughts making him uneasy, and being a Man of a great Spirit, he resolv'd to attempt the Discovery of the other Sea, and the Wealth he had been told of, which was then look'd upon as a very difficult Enterprize, having been told that it requir'd one thousand Men. This he resolv'd on, because if he should prove successful, such a considerable Piece of Service might obliterate all that was past, and if he hapned to die, it would put an End to all his Fears. To this Effect he discours'd his Men, telling them, that tho' the Enterprize seem'd difficult, he hop'd it would prove better than they expected. He pick'd out one hundred and ninety *Spaniards*, of the best he had at *Darien*, and those *Christopher Serrano* had carry'd over, whom he thought the most enur'd to Fatigues, and submissive, with some fierce Dogs, and providing one thousand *Indians* for Service, with Provisions, a Brigantine, and ten large Canoes, the Men well arm'd with Targets, Swords, Cross-Bows, and Firelocks. In this Posture he waited the proper Time to set out.

WHILST these Things hapned at *Darien*, several Orders were taken in *Spain* in Relation to the Affairs of the *Indies*. Some *Spaniards* having been kill'd by the Canibals in the Island of *Guadalupe*, it was decreed, that they should be made Slaves, to ease the *Indians* of other Islands. The *Dominican* Friars had leave to keep a Houle at *Sevil*, for the Instruction of fifteen *Indian* Boys, to be still supply'd by others as they went out from thence, the Arch-bishop offering to maintain them. The Proceedings of *James Velasquez* at *Cuba* were approv'd of, and he directed to endeavour to reduce the *Indians* there by fair Means. The King being intent upon finding a Passage to the Spice Islands, without encroaching upon what the Crown of

of Portugal claim'd, sent *John Diaz de Solis* and *Vincent Yañez Pinzon* upon that Expedition, who sailing to the Southward, discover'd the great River, which they nam'd of *Solis*, and is now call'd *de la Plata*, or of Plate. *John Ponce de Leon* being come to Court, and well receiv'd by the King, obtain'd a Grant for making Settlements on the Island of *Bimini*, and on the Coast of *Florida*. The *Dominican* Friars still pressing that the *Indians* should be maintain'd in their full Liberty, were told, that the contrary had been decided by many Divines, because they were not capable of enjoying that Privilege; however many Directions were given concerning the Manner of Governing and Instructing them in the Christian Religion.

1515.
Sep-80.

FATHER *Peter de Cordova*, Superior of the *Dominican* Friars, perceiving that all he could do in Favour of the *Indians* prov'd of no Effect, begg'd Leave of the King to pass over with the Friars of his Order to the Continent to preach to those Infidels without being molested by the *Spaniards*. His Majesty granted his Request, and gave his Commands that he should be furnish'd at *Hispaniola* with all Things requisite for that pious Undertaking.

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FATHER *Peter* arriving in *Hispaniola*, found the Admiral, and the King's Officers very ready to obey the Orders he brought, and therefore he sent three of his Friars before, to begin to preach among the *Indians*, to find out a convenient Place to settle, and send an Account of all that was requisite for others to follow. A Ship was appointed to carry them from *Hispaniola* to the nearest Part of the Continent, being two hundred Leagues distant. The Religious Men that went were Father *Antony Montefino*, F. *Francis de Cordova*, and Brother *John Garcés*; the first of which falling Sick at the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, was left there, and the other two proceeded on their Voyage, Being come to the Continent, they landed at a Town

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on the Coast of *Cumana*, where the *Indians* receiv'd them with Joy, gave them to eat, and entertain'd all in a friendly manner, whereupon the Sailors went away and left them. Some time after, the Pearl Fishery beginning to be carry'd on there, a Ship came to trade for them, the *Spaniards* landed, and were very glad to see the Friars. The *Indians* being always afraid, as soon as they saw Ships us'd to fly, but now being under the Protection of the Religious Men they stirr'd not, and furnish'd the Ship with Provisions. They staid there some time in a friendly manner, and one Day invited the Lord of the Town, whose Name was *Don Alonso*, the *Indians* being very fond of *Spanish* Names, to go dine aboard the Ship, with his Wife. The *Cazique* accepted of the Invitation, by the Advice of the Fathers, thinking he had sufficient Hostages of them, for otherwise he would not have hazard-ed himself, and accordingly he went into the Long-Boat, with his Wife, and seventeen others, who it is likely were his Children, Kindred, and Servants. As soon as they were aboard, the *Spaniards* hoised Sail, and made away. The People of the Town being alarm'd by this wicked Action, ran all of them to kill the Friars, believing they had been concern'd in it. The Fathers excus'd themselves; the *Indians* lamented, and were with much Difficulty appeas'd; upon Promise that they should be brought again within four Moons or Months, Whilst they were all in this Affliction, for the Comfort of the Fathers, it pleas'd God, that a Ship arriv'd there, the Men whereof landing, found both the religious Men, and the Natives in that Affliction, and having been inform'd of what had hapned, promis'd to give notice of it in *Hispaniola*, and endeavour to have the *Cazique* and the rest restor'd, the Fathers at the same Time writing to their Superior F. *Peter de Cordova*, to acquaint him, that unless the Restitution were made, they should be put to Death. The first of those Ships

Ships arriving at *Santo Domingo*, those *Indians* were expos'd to Sale, but the Judges of Appeals took them to themselves, as unlawfully seiz'd, tho' they knew not from whence they had been brought, making them Slaves, or *Naborias*, the Name by which the *Indians* call'd their Servants. A few Days after the other Ship arriv'd that brought the Letters from the Religious Men, when the Captain of the first Ship, perceiving that his Villainy was discover'd, took Sanctuary in the Monastery of the *Mercenarians*, that was then Building, and took the Habit upon him, for fear of being brought to Justice. The *Dominican Friars* having receiv'd the Letters, apply'd to those unjust Judges, intreating and requiring them to restore the *Cazique*, and his Company, without which the Fathers would be put to Death; but those wicked Men had no regard to their Entreaties, to the Death of those Religious Men, the Honour of the Christian Religion or any other Motive, preferring their private Interest in detaining of those Captives, before all other Considerations, and accordingly they consumed those unfortunate People in their Service, and when the four Months were expir'd, the *Indians* kill'd the Friars. Some Time after the *Spaniards* settled a Colony on the little Island of *Cubagua*, the which affording no fresh Water, they went over to fetch it in Casks from the Coast of *Cumana*, where they committed many Outrages.

HAVING concluded what hapned on the Continent this Year 1513, it will be proper to return to *Cuba*, where the Natives being return'd to the Province of *Bayama*, as has been said, *James Velasquez* order'd *Panfilo de Narvaez*, with one hundred Men, to march to the Province of *Camaguey*, and so on through the Island, taking the Licentiate *Bartholomew de las Casas* with him. At *Cueyba*, where *Alonso de Ojeda* and his Men had travell'd through the Quagmire above spoken of, and one

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of them left a Picture of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, they receiv'd the *Spaniards* in most friendly manner, but the *Cazique* fearing they should take that Picture from him, for which he had a great Veneration, fled into the Woods with it, and absconded till they were gone. The same good Reception the *Spaniards* met with in the Province of *Camaguey*, the Licentiate *Casas* all the way they went baptizing an infinite Number of Children; and because the Soldiers committed some Disorders, Father *Casas* directed, that when they came into a Town, the *Indians* should leave one part of the Houses to him and his Fellows, retiring themselves into the rest, and his Men upon Pain of Death not to go into the Quarters of those People. By these means he gain'd such Reputation among the *Indians*, that to have any thing done he desir'd, he needed only send an *Indian* with a Piece of Paper on a Stick to tell them the Content of that Letter were, that they should not be disturb'd, for no Harm would be done them, but furnish Provisions, have their Children in Readiness to be baptiz'd, and leave one Part of their Town empty, which if they did not the Father would be angry, which was the Threat they most dreaded, having the greatest Veneration for him, and looking upon it as a wonderful Thing that the *Spaniards* should know what was done at a Distance by those Letters. Thus they travell'd through the Country, the Natives every where flocking to see such strange People, but more particularly four Mares they had with them, which they all admir'd. When the *Spaniards* came to *Caonao*, about two thousand *Indians* were sitting in a square open Place upon their Hams, as is usual among them, looking upon the Mares, in a great Consternation, and above five hundred more were in a *Bobio*, or thatch'd House. When any of the *Indians* the *Spaniards* brought along with them, being about one thousand, offer'd to go into any House, the other gave them Fowls to forbear,

forbear, as knowing them to be worse than their Masters. The Custom was that the Commander in Chief appointed one to distribute the Provisions the *Indians* gave. It hapned that *Narvaez* being mounted on his Mare, as were the Masters of the other three on theirs, and Father *Casas* looking on to see how the Provisions were distributed, a *Spaniard* on a sudden drew his Sword, and all the rest being one hundred did the same, and fell upon the *Indians*, who, as has been said, were sitting in the Square, gazing on the Mares, with Admiration. Father *Casas*, and those that were with him did all that in them was to put a Stop to that Mischief, which might have been sooner done, had not *Narvaez* been of that negligent Disposition, as has been observ'd. However the Hurt done was considerable. Enquiry being made, who it was that first drew his Sword, and why, it could not be found out, but if it was the Person suspected, he afterwards came to a miserable End. This being reported through the Island, all the Natives fled by Sea to those little Islands, which are so numerous on the South side of *Cuba*, call'd by Admiral *Columbus*, the Queen's Garden. The *Spaniards* departing the aforesaid Town, incamp'd on a spacious new grubb'd up Ground, on which there was Plenty of *Yuca* to make *Cazabi* Bread, and having made Huts for themselves, and Attendants, the *Indian* Men went to fetch the *Yuca*, and the Women made the Bread. When they had lain there some Days, an *Indian* of about twenty-five Years of Age came from those, who had forsaken their Dwellings, and going directly to Father *de las Casas*'s Hut, spoke to an old *Indian* of *Hispaniola*, that had been some time with the Father, being a discreet Man, and a good Christian, call'd *Camacho*. He told him, he would live with the Father, and had a Brother fifteen Years old, who would do so too. *Camacho* commended him, and acquainted his Master, who receiv'd him very

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very affectionately, gave him a Shirt and some Bawbles, and he went away, promising to bring back the Inhabitants of his own Town. After having stay'd away so long that his Return was despair'd of, he at length came, with his Brother, and one hundred and eighty Men and Women, bringing their Goods, and several Strings of Beads to present to the Father. The *Spaniards* rejoyc'd at their Return, shew'd much Friendship, and sent them home to their Houses; but the Brothers above-mention'd stay'd with Father *Casas*. The News being spread abroad that these had been well receiv'd, all the rest that were fled, return'd to their respective Towns. Here Advice was brought, that the *Indians* at *Havana* had two *Spanish* Women and one Man among them. It was not thought fit to stay till the Forces marched thither, the Distance being one hundred Leagues, and therefore Father *Casas* sent one of his usual Pieces of Paper by *Indians*, bidding them send away that Man and the Women to him immediately, or he would be very angry. The *Spaniards* left those Barracks where they lay, to march to a Town that was on the North Coast; the Houses whereof were built on great Forks in the Water, and pass'd through others, and among them one *Carabote*, which they call'd *Casa Harta*, or House of Fulness, because they there found wonderful Plenty of all Provisions, as *Cazabi* Bread, Fish, and particularly Parrots, for in about fifteen Days they stay'd there, they spent above ten thousand of these Birds, which were very beautiful alive, and no less well tasted when roasted, being taken by Boys on Trees, as has been said before. Sometimes they went by Sea in fifty Canoes, which look'd like a Fleet of Gallies, and the *Indians* willingly furnish'd them. Whilst they were all at their Ease in the aforesaid Town they call'd *Casa Harta*, they saw a Canoe coming well furnish'd with *Indians* to row, and landed close by F. *Casas's* Quarters, and in it were

two Women stark naked, only their Privities cover'd with Leaves. One of them was about forty and the other eighteen or twenty Years of Age, looking like our first Parents in the terrestrial Paradise. Something to cloath them was provided among the *Spaniards*, there was much rejoicing for their Deliverance, and soon after they were marry'd to two honest Men. They said the *Indians* had kill'd some *Spaniards*, that were going along the Coast, oversetting their Canoes and drowning them, only saving the two Women; but that seven *Spaniards* had nevertheless swam ashore, with their Swords, which a Cazique demanded, and hung them on a great Tree, of the Sort they call *Ceyba*, and then kill'd the Men. A Letter, or Bit of Paper was also sent to the Cazique that kept the *Spaniard*, ordering he should keep him, as he had done, till the Forces came thither.

The End of the Ninth Book.





THE
General HISTORY

Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

AMERICA, &c.

DECAD. I. BOOK X.

CHAP. I.

Basco-Núñez de Balboa *marches over Land, discovers the South-Sea, takes Possession of it for the Crown of Spain, and gets Information of Peru.*



Basco Núñez de Balboa having resolv'd to march over to the *South-Sea*, and provided all Things in Order to it, set out from *Darien* about the beginning of September 1513, going by Sea as far as the Territories of the Cazique *Careta*, whose Daughter he had, and who receiv'd him in very friendly manner. He there left the Brigantine, and the Canoes, and advanc'd towards the Mountains, and the Country of *Ponca*, *Careta* assigning some of his Subjects to attend

attend him. The Cazique *Ponca*, who had Spies abroad, being inform'd, that the *Spaniards* were coming up his Mountains, hid himself in the most abstruse Part of his Lands. *Basco Núñez* sent some of the *Careta Indians*, to assure him that he would do him no Harm, but would be his Friend, as he was *Careta's*, and he thought fit to come to him, rather than abscond about in that manner, carrying the Value of one hundred and ten Pesos of Gold, which was all he had. *Basco Núñez* receiv'd him with much Joy, that he might have no Enemy behind, resolving rather to gain by fair than by foul Means, though he was pleas'd they should stand much in Awe of him for a little Severity. He gave him abundance of Beads, Looking-glasses, and Hawks-Bells, and that which the *Indians* most valu'd, viz. some Iron Axes, being of great Use to hew down Trees, and build their Houses. He then demanded of him Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, whilst he went up the Hills, and advanc'd farther. The Cazique granted all he desir'd, and gave him Plenty of Provisions, and then he held on his Journey up the Mountains, and came into the Dominion of a great Lord, whose Name was *Quarequa*, whom he found ready to oppose him; for the Fame of the *Spaniards* being spread abroad, he had provided, for fear of being seiz'd as his Neighbours had been. *Quarequa* came forward with a great Number of Men, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and a sort of Slings, with which they threw Staves hardned in the Fire, like Darts, dreadful Weapons among naked People, or they pass'd quite through their Bodies. They had also *Maçanas* made of Palm-tree Wood, as hard as Iron, which they us'd like Clubs with both Hands, though they were flat. In this manner the *Indians* met the *Spaniards*, asking, what they would have, or what they came for, requiring them, at the same time to proceed no farther. Observing then that they va-

Ju'd not what was said, their Lord came forward to the Front, cloath'd in Cotton, and with him some of the prime Men, all the rest stark naked. They attack'd the *Spaniards* with dreadful Cries, and extraordinary Fury. *Basco Nuñez*, seeing such a Multitude, told his Soldiers, he would rather in opposing those People they should keep their Ranks, than otherwise express their Valour; and order'd to discharge some Cross-bows and Firelocks, whereupon some dropp'd down dead. The *Indians* seeing the Fire, and hearing the thundering Report, believing they had been Flashes of Lightning, and that the *Spaniards* had Power to destroy them, they all fled to a Man, in such a Consternation, that they thought the *Spaniards* were no better than Devils. The Dogs were set at them, whilst their Masters cut off the Limbs of some, with their Swords, ran some through the Bodies, and ripp'd up the Bellies of others, the Dogs tearing others in Pieces. The *Cazique* was there kill'd, with his prime Men, that were distinguishable, and about six hundred more. Some were taken, and their Town plunder'd, where the Conquerors found a considerable Quantity of Gold. Among the Prisoners was a Brother of the *Cazique*, and some others, cloath'd like Women, and *Basco Nuñez* judging that they were guilty of the Sin of Sodomy, set the Dogs at them, and they were in a Moment torn to Pieces; which was all the Proof there was in this Case, tho' *Gomara* affirms it. Some *Spaniards* were grown sickly with Hunger, and Weariness, for which Reason *Basco Nuñez* left them in *Quarequa's* Town, where he took fresh Guides, and Men to carry Burden, to dismiss those that belong'd to *Careta*, thus proceeding to the Top of the Mountains, whence they said the other Sea might be seen. From *Ponca's* Lands to the said Top was about six Days Journey; but they spent twenty-five by Reason of the Uncoothness of the Land.

Land, and because they were scarce of Provisions, and had little Rest. At length, they arriv'd at the Top of the high Mountains, on the 25th of *September*, 1513, whence the Sea could be seen. *Basco Nuñez*, having Notice given him a little before they came to the Top, that they were very near, commanded all to halt there, went up alone, and seeing the *South-Sea*, with Hands lifted up, on his Knees he return'd Thanks to Heaven for being the first that had seen it. △

HAVING perform'd that Act of Devotion, he call'd his Men, and repeated the same, they all following his Example, whilst the *Indians* stood amaz'd to see them so overjoy'd. He then extoll'd the Intelligence given him by *Comagre's* Son, promising all his Men much Wealth and Happiness, and they all believ'd him, for he was very much belov'd, because he made no Difference between himself and every Soldier; besides that he was affable and familiar, and show'd much Compassion for the sick and wounded, every one of whom he visited and comforted in particular; and was himself undaunted in Dangers, never showing the least Concern in the greatest Perils. He then caus'd a Certificate to be drawn of his taking Possession of that Sea, and all that was in it, for the Crown of *Castile*; in Testimony whereof, he cut down Trees, erected Crosses, rais'd Heaps of Stones, and cut the King of *Spain's* Name on some Trees. He then resolv'd to go down the Mountains, to observe what there was on them, and on the Sea Coast. △ Being inform'd, that near that Place there was another Town belonging to a Lord whose Name was *Chiapes*, who had many Subjects, he advanc'd very cautiously, and *Chiapes* march'd out to meet him with a great Number of Men, in which he confided, and therefore look'd very fierce, for the *Indians* seeing so few *Spaniards*, generally made little account of them, till they had felt their Swords. When they drew near, the *Spaniards* saluted them with their Fire-Arms first, and

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and then with their Cross-Bows, after which they let go the Dogs. The *Indians* seeing the Fire of the Muskets, and hearing the Report, which eccho'd through the Woods and Mountains, and smelling the Gunpowder, which they imagin'd all came out of their Mouths, thought that Hell had been broke loose, and then observing how many had drop'd down dead, and that the Dogs tore all those they came at, turn'd their Backs, and fled with the utmost Precipitation. The *Spaniards* pursu'd with their Dogs, killing some, but not so many as they might have done, chusing rather to take Prisoners, in order by their Means to make Peace with *Chiapes*, that he might not retard their Passage. Being come to the Town, they dismiss'd some of those they had taken as Messengers to their Lord, and with them some of *Quarequa's* Men, to assure him they would do him no Harm if he would be their Friend; but in case he refus'd, that neither he nor any of his should be left alive. He fearing they should spit Thunder and Lightning to destroy him, as was his Opinion, thought it safest to put himself into the Hauds of those dreadful Enemies, and carry'd with him the Value of four hundred Pieces of eight in Gold, which perhaps was all he had, for tho' there was enough in those Parts, they took no Pains to gather, nor did they value it, unless it came by Chance. *Basco Nuñez* receiv'd him very graciously, and gave him Beads, Looking-Glasses, Hawk-bells, Scissors, and some Hatchets; and here he dismiss'd *Quarequa's* *Indians*, giving them some Trifles, with which they went away well pleas'd, sending for the *Spaniards* that had been left there sick, for whom he waited in *Chiapes's* Town, being well entertain'd. From thence he sent Captain *Francis Pizarro* to view the Sea Coast, and what there was about the Country; as also *John Escaray*, and *Alonso Martin*, with twelve Men each, to find out the shortest Ways to the Sea. *Alonso Mar-*

in hit upon the readiest Road, and in two Days came to a Place, where he found two Canoes upon dry Land, yet saw no Sea; but whilst he was considering how those Canoes were up the Land, the Sea Water came in, and lifted them up about a Fathom in Height; for upon that Coast the Sea ebbs and flows every six Hours two or three Fathoms, so that great Ships are left dry, and no Sea Water appears for half a League at least.

Alonso Martin seeing the Canoes swim, went into one of them, and bid his Companions bear witness that he was the first who enter'd the *South-Sea*. Another, whose Name was *Blaze de Atienza*, did the like, and bid them bear Witness that he was the second. They return'd to *Basco Núñez* with the News, at which all rejoyc'd very much.

WHEN the *Spaniards* that had been left at *Quarequa* were come, *Basco Núñez* desir'd the Lord of *Chiapes* to go along with him, and carry some of his Men, which he agreed to, and leaving those *Spaniards* there, who were quite tir'd with climbing those uncooth Mountains, *Basco Núñez* went with eighty *Spaniards*, and *Chiapes* with a great Number of *Indians*, and immediately the former walk'd into the Sea up to his Thighs, with his Sword and Target, and call'd Witnesses to testify, that he took Possession of the *South-Sea*, and of all that appertain'd to it, for the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and that he would defend the said Possession against all Opposers, wherein he us'd all the Formalities that could be imagin'd, for he was brave, subtle, diligent, and of a generous Temper, a Commander fit for mighty Enterprizes. He took nine Canoes, which perhaps belong'd to *Chiapes*, and cross'd a great River into the Lands of another Lord, whose Name was *Cocura*, who being inform'd that the *Spaniards* were coming towards him, march'd out to oppose them, and far'd as the others had done before him; because *Basco Núñez* always was upon his Guard, sending

ing out Spies before, to learn what was doing, and then drawing up his Men in a Moment, for he kept them under good Discipline, so that they never stray'd from him. He kill'd some of *Cocura's* Men, and the rest fled, and *Basco Núñez* sent some of *Chiapes's* Subjects, to advise him to come in and be his Friend, or he would treat him as he had done with others. The *Chiapeses* deliver'd their Message faithfully, advising him to go and fear nothing, as their Lord had done, or else he would be ruin'd, for the *Spaniards* were invincible. *Cocura* accordingly went, and carry'd six hundred and fifty Pieces of eight in Gold. *Basco Núñez* receiv'd him in a very obliging Manner, for among his other good Qualities, he knew how to be very courteous; gave him some *Spanish* Baubles, and offer'd him his Friendship. Leaving him well satisfy'd, he return'd to *Chiapes's* Town, and not enduring to be idle whilst he stay'd there, resolv'd to make some Discovery on the Sea, and particularly of a Bay he saw thereabouts, which seem'd to run far into the Land. *Chiapes* endeavour'd to dissuade him from it at that Time, because it was then a very dangerous Season to be at Sea, which lasted the three Months of *October*, *November*, and *December*; *Basco Núñez* would not regard those Perils, saying, That God would protect him, because what he design'd would be for his Service, and the Propagation of the Faith. The Cazique *Chiapes*, that his Fidelity might not be question'd, tho' he knew the Danger, would bear him Company, and his Men readily comply'd. Thus *Basco Núñez* and *Chiapes*, with eighty *Spaniards*, and a Number of *Indians* to row, embark'd aboard the nine Canoes. Because they enter'd that Bay on the 29th of *September*, being the Feast of *St. Michael*, the Name of that Archangel was given it, which it still retains. When they were at some Distance from Land, the Waves began to swell so high, that *Basco Núñez* repented he had not taken *Chiapes's* Advice

Advice. It was a wonderful Providence that they did not all perish, and the *Indians*, who generally swim like Fishes, made the Danger the more evident, as being better acquainted with that Bay, which render'd the *Spaniards* the more apprehensive. The Roughness of that Bay is occasion'd by the many little Islands, Rocks, and Shoals that are in it. The *Indians* being best skill'd in those Affairs, had Recourse to their usual Remedy, which is fastning two Canoes together with Cords, for then they do not so easily overturn. They made to the Shelter of an Island, where they landed, and lash'd the Canoes to the Rocks or Trees. There they continued all the Night, with as much Uneasiness, as if they had been looking Death in the Face, for upon the Flood, all the Island was cover'd with Water, and they stood in it up to the Waste, or very near it. When Day appear'd, and the Water ebb'd, they went to look for their Canoes, and found some beaten in Pieces, and others split, all of them full of Water and Sand; and nothing remain'd of all their Goods or Provisions, which was a very dismal Sight. In this Distress, they took off the Bark of the tender Trees, and bruising them with Grass and other Herbs, caulk'd the Crannies of the Canoes that were not quite stav'd, and thus embark'd again half famish'd. Thus they made for the Land of a certain Lord, whose Name was *Tumaco*, in a Creek of the Bay, where they found him ready to oppose them. *Basco Nuñez* seeing his Men weak and hungry, pick'd out a few of the ablest whom he plac'd in the Van, and engaging, in a very short Space, the Dogs and the Swords made great Havock among the *Indians*, the Cazique himself being wounded. *Chiapes* sent some of his Men to acquaint *Tumaco* with the Power of the *Spaniards*, how severe they were with their Enemies, and how kind to their Friends, as he himself, and other Lords they had met in their Way very well knew by Experience. *Tumaco*

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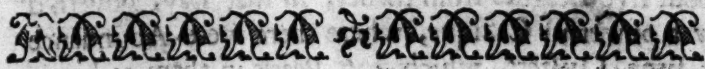
would not be perswaded the first Time, but the second Messengers prevail'd so far, that he sent his Son, whom *Basco Nuñez* entertain'd very lovingly, giving him a Shirt and some Toys, and bidding him advise his Father not to stand in his own Light, but to come himself, and be his Friend. *Tumaco* seeing his Son had been well us'd, went the third Day, with a great Attendance of his Subjects, but carry'd no Present; however *Basco Nuñez* paid him much Respect. *Chiapes* told him, that the *Spaniards* were good Friends, and it was but reasonable to assist them, since they were Strangers, and in their Country. Being pacify'd and out of Fear, he sent some Servants Home, who brought Gold to the Value of six hundred and fourteen Pieces of eight, and what was worth much more, two hundred and forty large Pearls, very fine, and many more small. The Joy *Basco Nuñez* and his Men conceiv'd at the Sight of them is inexpressible, believing the immense Treasures *Comagre's* Son had told them of, were now at hand, and thinking all their Sufferings well employ'd. The large Pearls were of a great Value, bating, that the *Indians* using Fire to open the Oysters, they took Damp, and were not so white as they naturally are. The *Spaniards* afterwards taught the *Indians* how to open them without Fire. *Tumaco* observing that the Pearls occasion'd such Joy among them, to show that he valu'd them but little, sent some *Indians* to fish, and within four Days they brought as many as weigh'd twelve Marks, a Mark being eight Ounces.

BOTH *Spaniards* and *Indians* were well pleas'd, the former concluding they should be possess'd of all that Wealth, and the latter, especially the *Caziques* for the Friendship of the *Spaniards*, seeing them so fond of the Gold and Pearls, which they valu'd so little; but *Chiapes* rejoyc'd most, because he had been instrumental in gaining *Tumaco's* Friendship. Those two *Caziques*

ziques assur'd *Basco Nuñez*, that there was an Island about five Leagues from thence, in that Bay, govern'd by a powerful Cazique, where there were Abundance of large Oysters, which had Pearls in them as big as Beans. *Basco Nuñez* order'd the Canoes to be immediately made ready to go over to it. The Caziques enreated him, not to think of it at that Time, but to stay till Summer, when the Sea was calm, and he might then go with Ease, and they would bear him Company, and he approv'd of their Advice. The Cazique *Tumaco* inform'd *Basco Nuñez*, that the Coast extended prodigiously, without End, pointing towards *Pern*, that there was an immense Quantity of Gold, and that the Natives us'd certain Beasts to carry their Burdens; being the Sheep of that Country, and made a Figure of them with Earth, to represent them the better. The Spaniards were amaz'd, some said they were Camels, others that they were Hags or Fallow-Deer, of which there are many on the Continent, about as big as small Calves, but their Legs short, that they are not above a Span in Length, and their Horns small. This was the second Intimation *Basco Nuñez* had of *Pern*, and its Wealth.

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C H A P. II.

Basco Nuñez de Balboa returns to Darien; what hapned by the Way; he divides the Gold.



Basco Nuñez being overjoy'd with the News he had heard, and full of the Hopes of the immense Wealth he thought to gather the next Summer, thought of returning to *Darien*. He took Leave of the Caziques *Chiapes* and *Tumaco*; thanking them for the Favours they had done him, and particularly *Chiapes*, who had been longest with him, for *Basco Nuñez* was as full of Courtesy as any other whatsoever, and it is a good Qualification in Persons that have Rule. When *Chiapes* took leave of *Basco Nuñez*, embracing him, he wept. The sick *Spaniards* were left with him, with a Charge to take Care of them, till they were fit to follow the rest, and he gave the *Spaniards* so many of his Subjects as they desir'd, to carry their Burdens, and attend them as far as they thought fit. *Basco Nuñez* took another Way than that he came, to see more of the Country, and arriv'd in the Lands of a Cazique call'd *Teanochan*, who hearing how *Basco Nuñez* treated those that did not receive him in friendly Manner, and being unable to resist, went out to meet him, with the greatest Tokens of Affection. He brought the Value of one thousand Pieces of eight, curiously wrought, and two hundred very fine Pearls, tho' somewhat discolour'd,

jour'd, because taken out by Fire. He furnish'd the Men with sufficient Provisions, and desir'd *Basco Núñez* to send the *Chiapese*s home, giving them what they wanted. The *Spaniards* refresh'd themselves three Days with *Teaochan*, and because the Way from thence to *Darien* was unpeopled, consisting of very high and barren Mountains, where there were many Tygers and Lyons, he supply'd them with Store of Provisions, and Men to serve them, and carry their Burdens, with his own Son to command them, ordering him not to stir a foot from the *Spaniards*, and that no Man should return without the Consent of *Basco Núñez*. The *Indians* led the Way through the Lands of a greater Lord than any of those they had left behind, being their Enemy, and they made many Complaints against him, desiring that the *Spaniards*, whom they look'd upon as invincible, should make War on him, his Name was *Poncra*. He not daring either to appear in warlike or peaceable Manner, thought fit to abscond, climbing certain very uncooth Mountains. The *Spaniards* found no Water for a great Part of the Way, and were so excessive thirsty, that had not the Guides shown them a Spring in the Corner of a Valley, out of the Way, they must all have perish'd. When they came to *Poncra's* Town, they found it abandon'd by the Inhabitants, and yet they there pick'd up to the Value of three thousand Pieces of eight in Gold. Men were sent into the Woods, to look for the Cazique, and tell him, he might come without any Danger, and be his Friend, and if he did not, he would expose him to the Dogs, to be torn in Pieces. *Poncra* fearing his Severity, and the Cruelty of the Dogs, that kept the whole Country in Awe, thought fit to go, tho' late, being afraid to trust him, and carry'd along with him three other Lords, who it is likely were his Subjects. He had a wonderful deform'd Countenance, as were his Limbs, differing

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differing therein from all other Men, insomuch that People were astonish'd at the Sight of him. When the other neighbouring Lords were inform'd that *Poncra* was going to attend the *Spaniards*, they went to complain of Abundance of Wrongs he had done them, for which Reason *Basco Nuñez* resolv'd to put him to Death; but first ask'd him mildly, where the Gold was found in that Country, yet could not prevail with him to discover it, tho' he threatned and wrack'd him. Being ask'd, where he had the three thousand Pieces of eight he brought, he answer'd, They were dead that knew how to get it in the Days of his Fore-fathers, and that since he grew aged he had never taken Care to look for any. At length he set the Dogs at him, and the rest that went with him, and then burnt them. When the *Spaniards* that had been left with *Chiapes* found themselves able to march, they follow'd *Basco Nuñez*, attended by *Indians*, carrying Provisions, taking their Way through the Country of a Cazique call'd *Bononiama*. He receiv'd them in joyful Manner, entertain'd and gave them the Value of two thousand Pieces of eight in Gold, and having rested them two Days, would bear them Company himself, with many of his Men, and Provisions to the Place where *Basco Nuñez* was. When come to *Poncra's* Town, where he still was, he took him by the Hand, and said to him, " Brave and bold
" Man, here are your Companions, whom I bring
" unto you whole and sound, as they came to my
" House; he that makes Thunder and Lightning,
" and gives us the Fruits of the Earth, keep you and
" them." This they understood to be the Meaning of his Discourse, and when he spoke, he lifted up his Eyes towards the Sun, so that it is likely they look'd upon the Sun as their God, or the Giver of temporal Blessings. He spoke many more Words, that seem'd to be affectionate, which tho' not well understood,

stood, were interpreted in that Manner. *Basco Núñez* shew'd himself thankful in the best Manner he could, and gave him several *Spanish* Toys, which he look'd upon as a great Favour, and Wealth.

FROM him he had Information of many Secrets of the Country, and among the rest of the Affairs of *Peru*, as he very fully acquainted the King. He dismiss'd him to return home, in a very affectionate Manner, being united in perpetual Amity. *Basco Núñez* rested in *Poncra's* Town thirty Days, all his Men being much spent with the Hunger and Fatigues they had endur'd. Departing thence he was attended by the Subjects of *Teaochan*, who voluntarily came out to meet him. They march'd along the Bank of the River *Comagre* which gave Name to the same Cazique's Country, whose Son had first inform'd *Basco Núñez* concerning *Peru*, and its Wealth. They ascended certain dreadful Mountains, uncouth and ill peopled, where they found only two poor Caziques, who it is likely had but little till'd Land, being Mountain People. Having got some little Provision there, he took them along with him for Guides, travelling from one Hill to another, without any Track of Road, and sometimes through Quagmires, where they sunk, if they were not very careful. Three Days they travell'd with incredible Fatigue, and some of the *Teaochanese* Indians fainted through Hunger and Toil. That Country was never travell'd over, for tho' there were some Towns, they held no Communication with one another, being satisfy'd with what they had. They came to the Town of a Cazique whose Name was *Buchebuca*, which they found abandon'd, the Inhabitants being fled upon the News of their Coming. Some *Teaochanese* found out the Cazique, who told them, that he had not absented himself through Fear, but for Shame and Concern, that he had not Provisions, and other Things to entertain them as they deserv'd; but
that

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that in Token of Friendship and Confederacy, they might accept of those Pieces of Gold he sent them; begging their Pardon that he had no more for them.

THEY departed that Town very hungry, disconsolate, and weak, for being a great Number of People, without Beasts of Burden or Carts, tho' they had Plenty of Provisions given them, wheresoever they came, the *Indians* could not carry above half, or three Quarters of an hundred Weight, and they were all to eat of it, so that the Stock was spent in two Days after they were abroad. As they were marching, some *Indians* appear'd on a Hill, and made Signs for them to stay, for they would speak to them; *Basco Nuñez* order'd his Men to halt, ask'd those *Indians* what they would have, and they answer'd thus. " Our Lord
 " *Chioriso* sends to salute you, and says, he would
 " fain have you go to his Town, that he may show
 " his Affection towards you, tho' he has not yet seen
 " you, only for the Fame of your Valour. He has
 " been told, that you punish those that do Harm to
 " others, and he has an Enemy, who is a great Lord,
 " and does him much Wrong, and therefore would
 " have you to assist him. That Man has much Gold,
 " which you might enjoy; but our Lord in Token
 " of the Love he has for you, sends you these thirty
 " Pieces of Gold, promising to give you many more
 " if you will be pleas'd to go where he is." Those
 " Pieces weigh'd fourteen thousand Pieces of eight, for
 " an exact Account of every thing was kept, to take
 " out the King's fifth Part in the first Place, and then
 " give every Man his Share, wherein *Basco Nuñez*
 " wrong'd none; for as he was severe, so he was also
 " generous in Rewarding, and upright in giving every
 " Man his Due, by which Means, he kept his Men so
 " submissive and obedient, that they readily went upon
 " any Enterprize with him, and would have continu'd
 long

long under his Government. He express'd himself very grateful to *Chioriso*, putting him in Hopes that he would one Day go to visit him, and sent him some Hatchets, and other *Spanish* Toys. The *Spaniards* had so much Gold, that more *Indians* were loaded with it, than with Provisions, and tho' Gold cheers the Heart, Hunger so far dejected them, that they could admit of no Comfort.

HOLDING on their Way, they came into the Country of the Cazique *Pocorosa*, who fled at first, but Messengers coming to him, he took Courage, and returning, presented *Basco Nuñez* with fifteen hundred Pieces of eight in Gold, and some *Indians* he had that were Slaves, and receiv'd other Things in Return, to his Satisfaction. There they rested thirty Days to recover their Strength, and when going away, were inform'd, that they were to pass through the Lands of *Tubanama*, the great Lord that was so much dreaded in all those Parts, because of his Power and Valour, of whom *Comagre's* Son had given him Intimation. *Basco Nuñez* signify'd to the *Spaniards*, that the said Cazique being very powerful, and they but few, and spent, it would be requisite to behave themselves with much Caution and Cunning, and to endeavour to seize him before he heard of their Coming, which was the Opinion of his Enemy the Cazique *Pocorosa*. Finding his Men very willing, he pick'd out seventy of the most forward, healthy, and active, and leaving the rest there, set out, marching all Night, and so fast, that he perform'd two Days Journey in one, and in the first Part of the Night, fell upon *Tubanama*, and surpriz'd him, and all his Family, in which he had eighty Women; but the Town being a scattering Place, the inhabitants fled upon the first Noise they heard. *Pocorosa's* *Indians* that *Basco Nuñez* had with him, evil'd *Tubanama*, and so took their Revenge. The News of his Imprisonment being spread abroad, the

People resorted from other Towns, to bring in their Complaints against him. He said, they ly'd, and rais'd all those Falshoods out of Envy, because he was more powerful, and they could not subdue him, and that he had rather been much injur'd by them. Amidst these Accusations, Answers, and Controversies, *Basco Nuñez* said, he would expose him to the Dogs, and order'd them to be brought out, and him to be thrown bound Hands and Feet into a great River there was close by. He wept bitterly, casting himself at the Feet of *Basco Nuñez*, urging that he had never offended him, but always had a Respect for him and his, tho' he had not seen them, valuing them as brave Men, and asking, Why he would give Credit to his Enemies, who hated him? Then drawing near to him, and laying his Hand on his Sword, he said, "Who can think to prevail against this Sword, which at one Stroke cleaves a Man from the Crown of the Head to the Navel, unless he be out of his Senses? Who then will not rather love than hate such People? I beseech you, do not kill me, and I will bring you all the Gold I have, and all I can get." These and many other Words he utter'd with Abundance of Tears, and *Basco Nuñez*, having had no Inclination to kill him, tho' much press'd to do it by all the other Caziques, because they hated and regarded him as a Tyrant, he began to look more pleasantly, and signify'd that he had Pity on him, causing him to be set at Liberty, and he order'd the Value of three thousand Pieces of eight to be brought, made up into Bracelets, and several Ornaments for Women. Three Days after, some Lords that were his Subjects sent him as much as was worth six thousand Pieces of eight, all which he presented. *Tubanama* being ask'd, where that Gold was found, refus'd to tell, believing that if he did, the Strangers would never depart his Country; and it was also thought he did it, because he look'd upon

upon that as a small Quantity. When *Basco Nuñez* was upon his Departure from thence, he made some Search, found Tokens that the Country was rich in Gold, and therefore resolv'd in Time to settle two Colonies, one in that Place, and another on the Lands of *Pocorosa*, for two Purposes; the first for the Security of the Commerce between the two Seas, and the other to have the Benefit of the Mines. He carry'd away all the *Cazique's* Women, and all he could get of him, as also a Son of his, tho' it was thought he had freely given him, that he might learn the *Spanish* Language, but others said it was to serve for a Spy. At Parting he charg'd him to order his Men to gather much Gold, and send it to him, in Return for which he would always be his Friend. The Fatigues *Basco Nuñez* went through were very great, because he was always in every Action, and by his Example in Marching, Fighting, Passing of Rivers, enduring Hunger, and Watching, he had all his Men submissive, and ready at his Will; all which threw him into a Fever, and yet he would proceed, being carry'd in a Hamack, on the Shoulders of *Indians*. When he came to *Comagre*, the old *Cazique* was dead, and the Inheritance devolv'd to his eldest Son, that discreet Youth, who reprov'd the *Spaniards* for quarrelling about dividing the Gold, and who gave the first Intimation of the *South-Sea* and Wealth of *Pernu*.

THIS Man receiv'd *Basco Nuñez* with great Joy, and afforded all the Men much Relief. He presented *Basco Nuñez* with the Value of two thousand Pieces of eight in wrought Gold, who gave him a Linnen Shirt, and some other Things, which he highly valu'd. When he had rested some Days, and as many as could recover'd their Strength, being cur'd of his Fever, he resolv'd to set out for *Darien*, with above the Value of forty thousand Pieces of eight, which were then worth more than three hundred thousand

at this Time. He charg'd *Comagre* to order his Men to gather much Gold, and send it him; and being come to the Cazique *Poncra's* Town, he found four *Spaniards* there, who were come from *Darien* to acquaint him, that two Ships were arriv'd with Provisions from *Hispaniola*, at which he was much rejoyc'd, and went away with them and twenty of his ablest Men to *Darien*, leaving the rest to follow him at leisure. He arriv'd at *Darien* on the 19th of *January* 1514, all the People coming out to receive him in most solemn Manner, but when they heard that he had discover'd the *South-Sea*, and brought Pearls, and so much Gold, their Joy was redoubled, every one there present thinking himself the happiest Man in the World. Having first deducted the King's fifth, *Basco Nuñez* divided all the rest that had been got, among those that went with him, and those that had been left at *Darien*, all of them being well pleas'd, but much more with the Hopes of what they expected to get in time.



C H A P. III.

*Peter Arias new Governour of Darien;
some Account of that Country; the State
of the Island of Cuba.*



Basco Nuñez immediately sent the King an Account of his having discover'd the *South-Sea*, and found Plenty of Pearls, as also what he had heard of *Pern*, and that it would require one thousand Men to carry on that Conquest: This Advice was so agreeable, that his Majesty immediately order'd *Peter Arias* to go over thither

thither as Governour, with twelve hundred Men, and he took fifteen hundred. With him went F. *John de Quevedo*, a *Franciscan* Friar, as Bishop of *Darien*, and several Religious Men of that Order. This Fleet enter'd the Bay of *Uraba* about the latter End of *July*, and from thence proceeded to *Darien*, where he was receiv'd by *Basco Nuñez* and all the Inhabitants with the greatest Respect, and he setting up his Inquisition against the said *Basco Nuñez*, treated him in the most malicious Manner. Soon after Provisions growing scarce, and the new Comers not being us'd to that Climate, great Numbers of them dy'd, and several of the principal Persons had Leave to return into *Spain*. In this Distress, *Peter Arias* pick'd out four hundred Men, whom he sent under the Command of *John de Ayora*, to settle Colonies on the Way to the *South-Sea*, and pick up all the Gold they could, by any Means whatsoever. *Ayora* was so intent upon the latter Part of those his Orders, that he rob'd all the *Caziques* he found in his Way, tho' *Basco Nuñez* had before contracted Friendship with them, and establish'd Peace throughout all that Country, which this new Commander perfidiously violated, treating all those poor Natives who came out to meet him, like the worst of Enemies. We will now leave them for a while to say something concerning the Country about *Darien*, which was then the Residence of the Governour.

THE Nature of this Province was wonderful, for Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, and Gourds were ripe in twenty Days after they had been sown, as were Lettuces, Borage, Endive, and such Herbs. The Vines and Trees they planted, produc'd as soon as they did in *Hispaniola*. The native Fruits were pleasant and wholesome. There was a Tree call'd *Guayanava*, producing a Sort of Fruit like Apples, of a sweet and sower Taste. Dates could not be eaten at all Times, tho'

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tho' there was Plenty of them, because they were tart. The *Guarabana* Tree yielded Fruit better than sweet Lemons, like Melons, very agreeable. Another Tree, call'd *Horios*, had a pleasant Fruit like Mirabolans. The Batatas, generally well known, being Roots like black Turnips without, and extraordinary white within, are eaten either raw or boil'd, and taste like good Chestnuts; besides much Variety of other Fruit that cannot be here mention'd. The Pine-Apple is wonderful, exceeding all other Fruit in Relish. In this Province were found great Numbers of Lions, tho' smaller than those in *Barbary*, and not so daring, for they fled, and hurt no-body, unless they were assaulted. There were very fierce Leopards, like those in *Africk*, but they did not fall upon Men, like the Tygers; and Carlamountain, which are as big as Tygers, fierce and swift, of a whitish Colour; but the Tygers were most dreaded, being wonderful ravenous, and tearing Men in Pieces; tho' the *Spaniards* hunted, took them in Gins, and kill'd many in a short Time. The Stags are like those in *Spain*, but not so swift; Foxes like the *Spanish*, tho' not in Colour, being very black and small. Bucks and Does as big as small Mules, of a dark grey, and without Horns; they must be wounded before they get into the Water, for afterwards they bite and kill the Dogs. Hares and Rabbits smaller than the *Spanish*, their Bellies and Sides white, and the hinder Part of the Hare Colour. Apes and Monkeys there were such Multitudes of, and of so many Sorts, that it was amazing; besides other monstrous Creatures; and among them one as big as an Ox, the Face like an Elephant, the Hair like a Bull, the Hoofs like a Horse, the Ears hanging, as big as an Elephant's. There were many of those Creatures that hide their young in their Bellies when they suck, and climb Trees to eat Fruit,

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IN one of the Rivers that fall into the Bay of *Uraba*, being above two Leagues over, and call'd *Rio Grande*, or the great River, they found vast Numbers of Alligators; and on the Banks of it, being full of *Qnagmires*, there were Pheasants and Peacocks, different in Colour from those in *Spain*; and other well tasted Fowls; Abundance of the large Parrots of several Colours, Black Eagles, large and small, Falcons, Hawks, and Gersfalcons; Kites, wild Pidgeons, Black-Birds, Swallows, Quails, Herons, Dwarf-Herons, Flamencos, Sea-Gulls, Ducks, black wild Geese. The Bats if they bit were venomous, against which no Remedy was known at first, afterwards they stopp'd the Bleeding with Sea Water, and very hot Ashes laid on the Hurt. This venomous Creature has one Quality, that tho' it bites one Man among an hundred one Night, the next Time it only bites in the very same Place, tho' the Person bit be among two hundred; which it does either on the Toes, the Fingers, or the Head, and much Blood runs from it. On the Continent there are also Magpyes, which hop about, little bigger than Black-Birds, all black, as is their Beak, and long. There are Abundance of *Pineadillos*, which are so much afraid of the Cats, that they build their Nests on Boughs that hang over the Water at the Banks of Rivers, after such a Manner, that tho' they touch the Water, they take in no Wet, and when the Cat comes, the Weight of it makes the Bough give way and the Cat quits its Game, for fear of falling into the Water, for it cannot swim, tho' the same is natural to all Beasts. There were many Nightingales, and various other Birds, that sung very sweetly, some of them yellow, others a most curious red, and divers other Colours. There are also Bees and Wasps, like those in *Spain*, tho' smaller, and they sting more sharply. Birds are here seen passing along from the North, some so high that they are above the Tops of the Mountains,

Mountains, and others lower. They are seen from Morning till Night, being infinite Numbers, and one always stays behind, looking, as far as can be discern'd, like Eagles, and other Sorts, of black Feathers. There were Vipers so venomous, that if a Person stung by them was not cur'd, he dy'd in four Days. Another smaller Sort, with round Tails leap'd up to sting, and were more poisonous than the others. Some Snakes were eight Foot long, as red as blood, which in the Night look'd like Fire, and others smaller, coming out of the Rivers, black, and all of them venomous, besides many other Sorts, as was also the *Yuana*, and therefore not eaten, as in *Hispaniola*. The Scorpions are black and yellow, very poisonous; Abundance of large and small Toads, which seem'd to decline with tilling the Land, and the Breath of the Cows and Horses, and the Country grew more healthy. A Soldier of good Reputation said, he had seen in some Fields of *Indian* Wheat, a Snake that left a great Track behind it, the Head of it to him appearing like a Boy's, and the Eyes as big as a Calf's.

NOT to forget the Affairs of *Cuba*; when the two *Spanish* Women before spoken of had been recover'd from among the *Indians*, F. *Casas* would also have the *Spaniard* brought, whom he had heard the *Cazique* kept, and accordingly sent him a Piece of Paper, as was practis'd upon such Occasions; directing him to take special Care of that Man, till they came to his Town; which he perform'd, as he had done till then, for several *Caziques* had desir'd to get him into his Hands, to kill him, yet he would never part with him, but always us'd him very well. The *Spaniards* having been fully satiated with Parrots, departed from *Caja Harta*, sometimes by Sea in their Fleet of Canoes, and other whiles by Land, as best suited their Conveniency. Arriving at the Province of *Havana*, they found all the Towns abandon'd, because the Inhabitants having

heard

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heard of the Slaughter made at *Camaguey*, were all fled to the Mountains. Father *Casas* sent his Messengers with Papers, to tell the Lords of those Towns, that they might safely come to meet the *Spaniards*, who should do them no Harm, for so he had been charg'd to do by *James Velasquez*; and therefore in all his Letters to *Narvaez*, he directed him not to hurt any Man, nor to draw a Sword unless the *Indians* first shot their Arrows. Upon Sight of the Father's Papers, nineteen of them immediately came with their Presents of Provisions, suitable to what every one could afford, so great was the Opinion they had conceiv'd of his Integrity. *Narvaez* immediately seiz'd, and would have put them to Death the next Day; but Father *Casas* interposing, partly by Entreaties, and partly by Threats, prevail'd to have them all set at Liberty, except only the chief Lord, whom *James Velasquez* afterwards discharg'd.

PASSING on from one Town to another, they came to that where the *Spaniard* was. The *Cazique* came out to meet them, with three hundred of his Men, carrying four Tortoises just taken. He was above sixty Years of Age, of an agreeable pleasant Aspect, denoting a good Disposition, and came behind the rest, holding the *Spaniard* by the Hand. The *Spaniards* and *Indians* met in a Wood, the latter laying down the Pieces of the Tortoises on the Ground, eating all the while, and then they sat down. The *Cazique* coming up to the Commander *Narvaez*, and *Casas*, after paying his Obedience, presented them the *Spaniard* he held by the Hand, saying, he had kept him, as if he were his own Son, and if it had not been for him, the other *Caziques* would have kill'd him. He was receiv'd with Joy, they embrac'd the *Cazique*, and complimented him. The *Spaniard* had forgot much of his own Language, and interspers'd with many *Indian* Words, sat down on the

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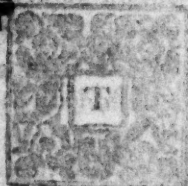
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Ground, and with his Mouth and Hands made all the Motions that were usual among those People, which occasion'd much Pastime among his Countrymen. He said he had been there three or four Years, soon recover'd his mother Tongue, and gave a large Account of what had happen'd to him. The Spaniards marching about that Country, and sometimes crossing from North to South, because the Island there is not very broad, on the North Coast, where now the City of *Havana* stands, found a large Mass of yellow Wax on the Sand, weighing about an hundred Weight, which they then much admir'd at, and could never conceive how it could come thither, till they afterwards discover'd the Province of *Yucatan*, which is but fifty Leagues distant from the westernmost Point of *Cuba*, and abounds in Wax and Honey. The Sea also was wont to cast up there a considerable Quantity of a sort of Bitumen like Pitch, and serving for the same use, and afterwards when the Spaniards settled the Colony at the Port called *del Principe*, they found the Source whence that Pitch is taken in Lumps, and sometimes runs out Liquid, perhaps being melted by the Sun, and being temper'd with Grease, or Oyl, is us'd about Ships like other Pitch.

THUS we see that *Cuba* was at this Time in a peaceable Condition, by means of some Colonies settled there by *James Velasquez*; fresh Mines of good Gold were daily discover'd, and the Spaniards apply'd themselves to gather it, and to farming. Father *Bartholomew de las Casas*, was one of this Number, with this Friend and Partner *Peter de Renteria*. He having gone over to *Jamaica* for Indian Wheat and Cattle, *B. Casas* resolv'd to resign the Indians he had into the Hands of the Governour *James Velasquez*, alledging, that he could not keep them with a safe Conscience, and went to his Friend *Renteria*, to come over immediately to *Cuba*, because he was resolv'd to go into *Spain*, upon

An Affair of great Consequence. When *Renteria* came, he told the Father, that he design'd to ask leave to go into *Spain* to beg of the King that the *Indians* might be protected. *F. Casas* being of the same mind, they agreed, that *Renteria* should stay, and that Father *Casas* should go away to *Hispaniola*, in order to proceed from thence to *Spain*, in Company with *F. Gutierrez de Ampudia*, Vicar of the *Dominican* Friars, who was this same Year come over to *Cuba*. At the same Time *Panfilo de Narvaez* repair'd to the Court, being sent by *James Velasquez* and the Colonies in the Island of *Cuba*, to beg of the King to grant them the *Indians* for ever, besides other Privileges, for they were already grown rich, and began to fit out Ships, which they sent to several Parts, as well to trade for Goods, as to buy, and take Slaves to be employ'd in the Mines. Thus ended the Year 1514.

The End of the First Decad.



THE



THE General HISTORY

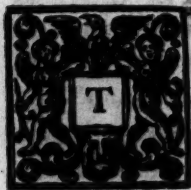
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

AMERICA, &c.

DECAD. II. BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Disasters of the Spaniards in Castilla del Oro, being the Country above Darien, and the Isthmus of America; the Discovery of the famous River of Plate.



THE Beginning of this Year 1515, the Court of Spain receiv'd Letters from Peter Arias, Governour of Castilla del Oro (so the Country about Darien, and the Isthmus of America was call'd) full of Invectives against Basco Nunez de Balboa; and at the same Time a full Vindication of all his Proceedings from others, who had been Witnesses of his notable Actions, and the extraordinary Service

Service he had done the Crown. Whilst these Informations were under Consideration, *Peter Arias* sent abroad several Commanders, with Men to settle Colonies, and bring in Gold, most of whom committing many Outrages, in order to enrich themselves, incens'd all the *Indians Basco Nuñez* had before made his Friends, by his fair, and amicable way of Proceeding, and brought Misery and Ruin upon themselves. Soon after a Ship arriv'd at *Darien* from *Spain*, which brought *Basco Nuñez* the Title of *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of the *South-Sea*, with Orders to *Peter Arias* to employ and support him as such; but he was so enrag'd at his Preferment, that he us'd all possible Means to destroy him, as he afterwards did. Accordingly, he sent *Gaspar de Morales*, with sixty Men to the *South-Sea*, who having gather'd some Gold, and Pearls, return'd to *Darien*, leaving several of his Men dead behind him, and all the Natives near those Parts where he had been, in an Uproar, and altogether averse to the *Spaniards*.

THOUGH the number of the *Spaniards* at *Darien* daily decreas'd, either being cut off by the Natives, or dying of Diseases, and Hardships, *Peter Arias* never ceas'd sending out Parties every way, to make Incursions, ordering them always to require the People to submit, as has been mention'd before. Among others, he sent *Tello de Guzman* to take those Men *John de Ayora* had left in *Tubanama's* Town, and make Discoveries as far as he could to the Westward, along the *South-Sea*; and Capt. *Francis de Vallejo* to march with sixty Men against the People of *Uraba*, because they often molested those at *Darien*, and sometimes came so very near as to shoot their Arrows to their very Houses. *Francis de Vallejo* being come to the Habitations, now call'd *de Badillo*, being three Leagues from *Uraba*, fell upon them, according to Custom, about break of Day, his Men made it their

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their Business to run about in Quest of the great Plenty of Gold said to be there, and in the mean Time, the *Indians* with their poison'd Arrows, wounded several of them, who however made them retire. Here-upon penetrating further into the Country, a great number of the Natives assembled, being much incens'd ever since *Ojeda* and *Christopher Guerra* were there. They fought for a considerable space of Time, wounding some with their poison'd Weapons, who all dyed raving mad; for which reason the *Spaniards* drew back to the Coast, the same way they came, and coming to the River *De las Redes*, or of Nets, made some Floats, to defend themselves on the Water. They were made, either of several Pieces of Timber, or of Bundles of Reeds bound together, with a sort of Roots like Thongs, in the nature of Ivy, or with Cords they always carry'd for such Uses. Being too hasty to make their escape, they fast'ned the Floats not sufficiently, the which parting, they lay down, and held them together with their Arms, and in that manner were carry'd down the River. But this not being sufficient to secure them from drowning, they took hold of the Boughs of Trees that hung down, thinking to come off better, till their Strength failing, they dropp'd, and perish'd. Others that were more venturesome, made to the Shore, and were receiv'd with vast Flights of poison'd Arrows, by which they perish'd. Those few that in a miraculous manner escaped down to the Sea Coast, return'd to *Darien*, leaving behind them forty eight dead of the sixty that went out, and few of the rest that were wounded surviv'd.

Peter Arias being much concern'd at this Misfortune, sent Capt. *Francis Bezerra* with one hundred and eighty Men in a Ship, very well equipp'd, carrying three small Guns, forty Cross-bow Men, twenty-five Musketeers, and all other Weapons the Place could
afford.

afford. Their design was to penetrate into the Province of *Zenu*, because the Batchelor *Enciso* had done little there to any Purpose. *Francis Bezerra* landed on the Coast of *Urabá*, *Peter Arias* having commanded him to destroy all the People thereabouts. He advanc'd to discover the Country a Way that none ever knew before, nor could be afterwards found, for neither he, nor any of those that went with him were ever more heard of, because the *Indians* lay every where in wait in the Woods and Thickets, and hew'd down Trees to stop their Passage, shooting their poison'd Arrows from behind the other Trees. When those *Spaniards* came to the River *Zenu*, which was by the chief Town, they found the People, to outward appearance, in a peaceable Disposition. The River being wide and deep, they suffer'd themselves to be carry'd over in Canoes, and when one half of them was pass'd, the *Indians* who were in a Readiness rush'd out on both Sides, and kill'd them all to a Man. Thus they suffer'd for their Folly, in consenting to be divided. *Peter Arias* had notice hereof by an *Indian* Boy, that went with them, being Servant to some *Spaniard*, who hiding himself in the Woods; travelling by Night, and lurking close in the Day, with much Difficulty made his way to *Darien*, almost famish'd.

At this same time also *John Diaz de Solis*, reputed the ablest Navigator in the World, was appointed by the King to command two Ships, fitted out to discover a Passage to the Spice Islands. He sail'd from *Lepe* on the 8th of *October* this same Year 1515, proceeded to *Tenerife*, one of the *Canaries*, and thence steer'd his Course for *Cape Frio*, lying in twenty-two Degrees and a half of North Latitude; saw the Coast of *St. Roque* in six Degrees of North Latitude, steering South and by West, and the Pilots said they were ninety Leagues to the Windward of *Cape St. Augustin*, but the Currents running West, were so strong, that

7. The first of these is the fact that the

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that they drove them two Degrees to the Leeward of that Cape, which lies in eight Degrees, and a quarter of South Latitude, according to the reckning kept this Voyage. From Cape *Frio* to Cape St. *Augustin*, they reckned thirteen Degrees and three Quarters, though Cape *Frio* was so low that they saw it not, and only made their Computation by the Latitude. They arriv'd at *Rio de Janeiro* on the Coast of *Brasil*, and found it lay in twenty three Degrees, thirty Min. of South Latitude. From this River to Cape *Navidad*, the Coast bears North East and South West, being all low Land, jutting out into the Sea. Next they came to the River *de los Inocentes*, in twenty three Degrees, fifteen Min. and then to Cape *Cananea* in twenty five Degrees bare, whence they stood for the Island they call'd *de la Plata*, or of Plate, steering South West, and came to an Anchor in twenty seven Degrees of South Latitude, which *John Diaz de Solis* call'd *Bahia de los Perdidos*. Having pass'd Cape *Corrientes*, they anchor'd again in twenty nine Degrees, and pass'd by in sight of the Island of St. *Sebastian* of *Cadiz*, where are three other Islands, which they call'd *de los Lobos*, and within them the Port of *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, in thirty five Degrees Latitude, where they took Possession for the Crown of *Spain*; but they anchor'd at Port *de los Patos*, in twenty four Degrees, twenty Min. Next they enter'd a Water, which by reason of its being so spacious, and not salt, they call'd *Mar Dulce*, or the fresh Sea, and afterwards was found to be the River now call'd *de la Plata*, or of Plate, but was then named the River of *Solis*. ‡ That Commander proceeded farther on in one of his Vessels, being a Caravel, carrying Shoulder of Mutton Sails, observing the entrance along the one side of the River, and came to an Anchor in the most rapid Part of it, near a midling siz'd Island, in twenty four Degrees, forty Min.

Latitude.

‡ Robertson places this entry in 1516.
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1515.

Latitude. All the way they coasted, till they came to the aforesaid Latitude, they often descry'd Mountains, and other high Clifts, seeing the People on the Shore, and on this of the River of *Plate* they discern'd many *Indian* Houses, and People that very attentively observ'd the Ship passing by, offering what they had by Signs, and laying it on the Ground. *John Diaz de Solis* would needs see what sort of People they were, and take some one Man to carry into *Spain*. Accordingly he went ashore, with as many as the long Boat could carry. The *Indians* who had laid an Ambush of many Archers, when they had drawn the *Spaniards* at some distance from the Sea, fell upon, and inclosing them, slew every Man, without regarding the great Guns of the Caravel. Then taking up the Slain, and carrying them from the Shore, so far that those aboard might still see what was done, they cut off their Heads, Arms and Legs, and roasting the Bodies whole, devour'd them. Having seen this horrid Spectacle, the Caravel return'd to the other Ship, and both together to Cape St. *Augustin*, where they loaded *Brasil* Wood, and made the best of their way back into *Spain*. This was the unhappy end of *John Diaz de Solis*, an abler Pilot than Commander.

WE must conclude this Year 1515, with the Affairs of *Darien*. The King always charg'd *Peter Arias* to be particularly intent upon establishing Colonies, converting the Natives, and using them well. He directed him, not to suffer his Men to be idle, but rather to keep them always employ'd, because no good ever came of Idleness; to build his new Towns in wholesome Places, and not in close Holes, taking care to settle a safe Correspondence between the two Seas. He permitted him to make some Innovations as to his former Instructions, enjoining him that in all matters of Consequence he should take the Advice of the Bishop, *Basco Nuñez*, and the Officers of the Crown.

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At the same Time his Majesty granted a Charter to the City of *Santa Maria el Antigua del Darien*, and appointed it's Arms to be, *Gules*, a Castle Or, with the Sun in Chief over it, and under it in Base, on the dexter side a Tiger, and on the Sinister an Alligator, with the Image of our Lady called *el Antigua* for a Crest.

Peter Arias obey'd the King's Orders, in keeping his Men employ'd, though the late Excursions made by him had met with ill Success; but he was defective in employing *Basco Nuñez*, whereas it was generally allow'd by Friends and Enemies that he was capable of managing the greatest Enterprizes. On the contrary, *Peter Arias* was always jealous of, and show'd much dislike to him. *Basco Nuñez's* Friends said it was, because he had complain'd, that *Peter Arias's* Commanders had kill'd and plunder'd all the *Caziques*, with whom he had contracted Friendship, and Alliance; whereupon seeing his Promises made void, he had intreated the King to grant him leave to repair to his Court, which his Majesty had refus'd him, commanding *Peter Arias* to employ and permit him to enter upon his Government. Certain it is that *Basco Nuñez*, being much offended at *Peter Arias*, writ a very long Letter to the King, dated the 16th of October this Year 1515, finding much Fault with his Government, and charging him with many Offences, and it is to be believ'd that these Complaints, Accusations, and *Basco Nuñez's* Letter came to the Ears of *Peter Arias*, who thereupon became incens'd against him, as taking away his Reputation; and though afterwards there seem'd to be a Reconciliation, what Fate had decreed could not be avoided.

Peter Arias having order'd *Tello de Guzman*, to proceed to the Westward, upon the Discovery of the South-Sea Coast, with those Men *John de Ayora* had left in *Tubanama's* Town, when he arriv'd at that Place,

Place, with some others he had receiv'd from the said *Peter Arias*, he found Capt. *Meneses*, and his Company so close beset, that they durst not venture out to seek Herbs to eat, and being destitute of all Hopes of Relief, they had several Times thought of quitting that Post, and returning to *Darien*, but the *Indians* were immediately at Hand, and cut off their Retreat, however when *Tello de Guzman* appear'd, they all fled. The *Spaniards* march'd into the Countries of the *Caziques Chepo* and *Chepauri*, and *Tello de Guzman* being inform'd, that the *Indians* were assembling to attack him, he offer'd to conclude a Peace with the principal *Cazique*, making him Satisfaction for past Damages, and assuring him of better Usage for the future. The *Cazique* liking Peace best, and believing, that what had been promis'd would be perform'd, went to see the *Spaniards*, conducted them to his House, and entertain'd them very civilly. Whilst they were eating in friendly manner, an *Indian* Boy came attended by some Men, and told *Tello de Guzman*, that the Lordship where he was belong'd to him, and not to the other that was there, because his Father, the rightful Lord, at the Hour of his Death, had appointed that Person his Tutor, and Governour of the Lordship, who had afterwards usurp'd the same, and banish'd him; which being so great a Crime, he pray'd he would assist him against the Usurper, and he would furnish Gold as well as the other. *Tello de Guzman*, in return for his good Entertainment, without ever examining, whether what the Boy said was true, order'd his Host immediately to be hang'd on a Tree, and deliver'd seven of the dead Man's Commanders to the Boy, who very readily caus'd them to be torn in Pieces, and in Token of his Gratitude gave *Tello de Guzman* the value of six thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, who thereupon resolv'd to proceed to *Panama*, which was then very famous. He found nothing there but

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some Fishermen's Houses, whence it has the Name of *Panama*, signifying, in the Language of that Country, a Place where much Fish is taken. From thence he sent Capt. *James de Albitez*, with eighty *Spaniards* into the Province of *Chagre*, which was eighteen Leagues distant. *Albitez* enter'd the Towns when the People were asleep, but being of a better Disposition than the other Commanders, did no harm. The *Cazique* therefore being sensible, that he might have taken, kill'd and plunder'd him, very contentedly gave him twelve thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, who believing that the Giver had twenty times as much, desir'd he would fill him a great Sack with that Metal. The *Cazique* being much concern'd at it, answer'd, "He might fill it with Stones out of the Brook, for he neither had any more, nor could make Gold." *James Albitez* being confounded at this Answer, went away, without suffering any harm to be done or compelling him to declare what Gold he had.

HE again joyn'd *Tello de Guzman* in the Country of the *Cazique Pacora*, where they agreed to return to *Darien*. Being come to *Tubanama*, they discover'd a great number of Men in Arms waiting for them, having Colours made of Linnen Shirts, dy'd with the Blood of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd, saying, they would destroy them, as they had done by those that had built the Colony of *Santa Cruz*. The *Spaniards*, who were tir'd, being attack'd by the *Indians*, fell on, and advancing still as they fought, came into the Country of *Pocorosa*, much spent with Thirst, because the *Indians* charg'd, and press'd them so hard, that they had not Time to drink at the Brooks. They made a wonderful Retreat, though pursu'd by a great Multitude, and march'd off always fighting, without coming to a pitch'd Battle. At last they arriv'd at *Darien* in a shatter'd Condition, many of them

them wounded, and with less Gold than they had taken, because the *Indians* gave them Water for it, and pursu'd them till they got into *Darien*. This Disaster befallen *Tello de Guzman*, added to the former Calamities, very much perplex'd them all, and put *Peter Arias* into a Consternation, for the People in *Darien* were in such a Fright seeing the *Indians* so bold, that they expected to be destroy'd. They look'd out towards the Mountains and the Plains, and the Boughs of Trees, and the very Grass which grew very high in the *Zavanas*, look'd to them like arm'd Men. If they turn'd their Eyes towards the Sea, they fancy'd it was cover'd with Canoes. In this pannick Fear, which put them beside themselves, they not only whisper'd, but loudly proclaim'd their Discontents; which gave *Basco Nuñez*, and his Friends sufficient occasion to mutter. *Peter Arias* did all he could to conceal his Losses, and the Boldness of the *Indians*, to keep up the Hearts of his People, and order'd the Foundery to be shut up, which was never done but in Time of War, or Famine. The only Thoughts were now, how to save their Lives, and amidst these Calamities, at the Instance of the Bishop, *Peter Arias* order'd publick Prayers, to appease God's Wrath. *James de Albiez*, being rich, and seeing all in Confusion, sent, at this Time privately away to Court a Mariner of no mean Spirit, call'd *Andrew Nino*, of whom more shall be said hereafter, to procure him a Government on the *South-Sea*, giving him two thousand Pieces of Eight for his Journey.

WHILST Things continu'd in this Confusion, *Peter Arias* contriv'd many Stratagems to ensnare the *Indians*, who were daily expected, *Basco Nuñez* making a Jest of all he did, which prov'd disadvantageous to him. At last *Peter Arias* sent Capt. *Gonzalo de Badajoz*, with one hundred and thirty Men in a Ship to *Nombre de Dios*, in order from thence to march by
Land

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Land to the *South-Sea*, that being the narrowest Passage; commanding him to bring all the Country under Obedience, and to make War, if he met with any Opposition. *Gonzalo de Badajoz* arriving at *Nombro de Dios* towards the latter end of *March* this Year 1515, when the Soldiers saw the Fort, that had been built by *Nicuesa*, and the horrid Spectacle of the many Bones, and Crosses on the Heaps of Stones, lay'd on the *Spaniards* that had been there starv'd to Death, they were all dismay'd, and started several Difficulties against advancing any farther. *Gonzalo de Badajoz* with an undaunted Resolution, order'd the Master of the Ship immediately to return to *Darien*, that the Men might have no Possibility of looking back, and to oblige them to follow him, and told them, that the only thing they ought to fear, was the Shame of not behaving themselves well under his Command. He began to climb the Mountains of *Capira*, which are vastly high, to proceed into the Country of the *Cazique Totonagua*, who was Lord of much Land, and abundance of Mountain People. They attack'd him by surprize, plunder'd, and took him, and found the value of six thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, carrying him away Prisoner before the other *Caziques* had any notice of it. They attack'd *Tataracherubi*, a rich *Cazique*, but he slipp'd away, and yet they took eight thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold. *Totonagua* intreated *Badajoz* to dismiss him, and he would give as much more Gold as he had taken before, which was perform'd on both Parts. *Tataracherubi* also resolv'd to make his Appearance, to try whether he could any ways impose upon the *Spaniards*, before they took him, and carry'd a Present of Gold. He feign'd that near by there was a *Cazique* call'd *Nata*, who was very rich, and had few Men. Upon this Advice *Badajoz* sent thirty *Spaniards*, under the Command of *Alonso Perez de la Rúa*, who fell upon him before Day, as

was

was their Custom, and when the Light appear'd, they found themselves in the midst of several great Towns, for *Nata* was a great Lord, and considering that they were lost Men, if they retir'd, they resolv'd to attack the principal Town boldly, as being most secure, and Fortune so far favour'd them, that they took the Cazi-que, for they always endeavour'd to secure those Lords, that being the surest way to get the greater Booty. When he was taken, they thought themselves safe, and going about to look for Gold, found ten thousand Castellanos, taking all the Women and Children that could not make their Escapes in that Confusion. The Inhabitants of that Town, and those of the others, who had notice given them in a Moment, seeing their Lord, and their Wives and Children taken, joyning a Brother of the Cazi-que, fell upon the *Spaniards*, casting an infinite number of Darts, and Stones, because they had no Arrows, but only the wooden Swords, call'd *Maçanas* in the Island *Hispaniola*. The *Spaniards* finding themselves hard press'd, thought it the best way to retire with the Cazi-que into his House, declaring, they would kill him, if he did not command them to forbear. The Cazi-que in a Passion repro- v'd his People, asking them, how they durst to take up Arms without his Orders, and they all immediately quaking threw down their Arms, and gave over Fighting.

Alonso Perez de la Rúa requir'd the Cazi-que's Brother to submit himself to the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, for as much as all those Lands belong'd to his Crown, which the Pope, whom *St. Peter* had left in his Place, had bestow'd on him. The Lord's Brother answer'd, " That he had never seen any other Man besides themselves in those Parts, and if the King of *Spain* should at any Time pass that way, they would freely give him some of the Gold they had, Provisions and some of their Wo-
men."

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"men." *Gonzalo de Badajoz* being inform'd how Affairs stood, hasted to the Assistance of his Men, and set the Cazique at Liberty, who gave him fifteen thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold; besides which he made so much of them all, that they resolv'd to stay there all the Winter, for although the Country is so much subject to Rain, it is not cold. This Lord *Nata's* Habitation was near the *South-Sea*, where the Town of *Nata* continues to this Day. When they had been there about two Months, they fell upon a Cazique, whose Name was *Escolia*, whom they seiz'd, with his Wives, and took from him the value of nine thousand Pieces of Eight. Continuing their discovery to the Westward, they came to the Dominions of the Cazique *Biriquete*, from whom *Peru* is said to have deriv'd its Name, and of another Cazique call'd *Totonagua*, who was blind, and gave them six thousand Pieces of Eight in wrought and unwrought Gold. Among the Grains of Gold there were some that weigh'd two Castellanos, which betoken'd the Wealth of the Country, and all that is such for two hundred Leagues above and below *Darien*, having very rich Mines. They were inform'd, that something farther there was another Lord, call'd *Taracuri*, from whom they got eight thousand Pieces of Eight. Advancing to the Country of *Pananome*, they found him not, for he durst not stay. Six Leagues still farther to the Westward they came to another, whose Name was *Tabor*, and from thence to *Cheru*, who came out to meet, and gave them four thousand Castellanos. It is to be observ'd that a *Peso*, a *Castellano*, and a Piece of Eight are all the same. At this Time *Gonzalo de Badajoz* had gather'd eighty thousand Castellanos, which in those Days were worth more than five hundred thousand after the Discovery of *Peru*.



CHAP. II.

The farther Proceedings of the Spaniards in Castilla del Oro ; King Ferdinand of Spain dies ; Friars of the Order of St. Jerome sent to govern the Indies.



VHEN *Peter Arias* had dispatch'd *Gonzalo de Badajoz*, being very uneasy about *Francis Bezerra*, and not giving full Credit to the News brought him by the Boy, as has been said before, he resolv'd to go in Person to look for him, or at least to learn the Reason of his long Stay ; because none of the People in *Darien* durst think of going to *Uraba*, or towards *Zenu*, for fear of the poison'd Weapons, which immediately destroy'd those that were wounded with them. *Peter Arias* having always been bold and daring in order to draw the Men artfully out of *Darien*, proclaim'd War against *Pocorosa*, and other Lords in those Parts, which was very acceptable at *Darien*, on account of the great Advantage they hop'd to make of that War. Above three hundred Men voluntarily offering to go with him, in three or four Ships ; they sail'd to the Westward till Night, when the Pilots, having private Instructions what to do, rack'd about, and stood the Course *Peter Arias* intended. Before it was Day, two hundred Men enter'd *Caribana*, under the Command of Captain *Bartholomew Hurtado*, whom *Peter Arias* commanded to land, after he had in a stern Manner

told them, that none of them must presume to ask whether they were going, or what was to be done, but that they should only obey Commands. They attack'd the Town before it was Day, and set Fire to the Houses. The *Indians* ran out half burnt, or scorch'd, and falling into the Hands of the *Spaniards* were put to the Sword; however, as many as escap'd, recovering from their Fright, handled their Bows, and charg'd the *Spaniards*, who having no Security against the Poison, retir'd to their Ships. Some Prisoners they carry'd, who gave the same Account of the Death of *Francis Bezerra* as the Boy had done before. *Peter Arias* having receiv'd this Information, stood about again down the Coast of the Continent, and having sail'd sixty Leagues, landed with all his Men at the Port of *Acla*. Thence he sent the Licenciate *Espinosa*, his Chief Alcalde, with a Party to destroy *Pocorosa*. In the mean Time he order'd a Fort to be built of Wood and Earth, being himself the foremost at the Work, which made all the rest readily comply; and this Fort was erected that the *Spaniards* might have a Place to retire to. Within a few Days, *Peter Arias* fell sick, which oblig'd him to return to *Darien*, leaving Captain *Gabriel de Rojas* to command in his Stead.

To return to *Gonzalo de Badajoz*, he departing from the Territories of *Cheru*, went on to the Cazique *Parizao Pariba*, whom the *Spaniards* afterwards call'd *Paris*, tho' his Name was *Cutara*. He being inform'd that they were coming, fled to the Mountains, with all his Men, securing the Women and Children. *Badajoz* finding no Body in the Town, sent some of his Slaves to call the Cazique, threatening, that if he did not come, he would seek him out, and kill him, as he had done by others. *Cutara* sent him by four prime Men, four *Petacas*, being Baskets made of Palm-Tree Leaves, lin'd with Deers Skins, two Spans broad, about three in Breadth, and the third Part of one in Depth, which

which they make use of as we do of Boxes. These were full of Gold Plates, which they hung at their Breasts, of Bracelets, and Ornaments for their Ears. They brought a Message from him, desiring he would excuse him that he did not come, because he was busy; but that he would receive that Present, which his Wives sent him. It was worth about forty or fifty thousand Castellanos. *Badajoz* seeing such a Quantity of Gold sent him so freely, and without Constraint, imagin'd that the *Cazique* must needs have some great Treasure in his House; and therefore answer'd, That he thank'd him, and would for the future look upon him as his Friend. Then pretending to return the same Way he came, two Nights after, when the *Cazique* was come back to his Town, fell in upon it before Day-Break. The Lord made his Escape, but he found thirty or forty thousand Pieces of Eight more, and took the Women, and some Men. *Paris* finding himself thus abus'd, gather'd all the Men he could, and overtook *Badajoz* in one of his Towns. Laying himself in Ambush, he sent out an *Indian*, as if he had been going a Fishing, or Hunting, and knowing he would be taken, instructed him thorowly what he was to say. The *Indian* being taken, *Badajoz* ask'd him, who he belong'd to, whence he came, and what he was about. He answer'd, that his Lord was near by, was very rich, and knew nothing of the Coming of the *Spaniards*. Upon this Information he march'd all Night, and in the Morning came to a Parcel of empty Houses, or Cottages. *Paris* perceiving that the *Spaniards* were divided, fell upon those that were left behind, and setting Fire to the Houses, with great Shouts, and sounding their Cornets, wounded most of them before they knew what they were doing, and had not *Badajoz* hapned to come in, not a Man of them had escap'd alive. They fell on several Ways, the *Indians* being above four thousand, and the *Spaniards* hard press'd,

thought it their only Safety to stand all together in the Market-Place, and tho' they made a brave Defence, some falling, they began to decline. The *Indians* enclos'd them with much Wood and Straw, in order to set Fire to it, and burn them, but they entrench'd themselves with the dead Bodies. However, finding this could not secure them, their Commander leading, they rush'd out, and broke through, making a prodigious Slaughter. They left behind them all the Baggage, which was carry'd by four hundred *Indians*, and among it all the Gold they had got together. Seventy *Spaniards* remain'd dead upon the Spot, and the eighty that escap'd were in such ill Plight, that some of them had receiv'd three, some four, and some eleven Darts in their Bodies. *Badajoz* took particular Care to dress the Wounded, sowing up their Wounds with Packthread, using the Grease of *Indians* that had been kill'd instead of Oil, and binding them with Rowlers made of their own Shirts, and thus many recover'd, who had almost despair'd of their Lives.

HAVING thus play'd the Surgeon, there being no other Remedy but Flight, *Badajoz* took some Canoes, into which he put those that were most disabled, and with the soundest, march'd along the Shore. Tho' they that went by Land thought themselves safest, the Tide rising so high along that Coast of the *South-Sea*, it came upon them one Night in such Manner, that those who could climb Trees found the best Quarters, and those that could not, stood up to the Waste in Water, which made their Wounds rankle, and they dy'd. As they held on their Way in that miserable Condition, the Lord of *Nata*, who, as was said before, had been seiz'd by *Alonso Peres de la Rúa*, hearing of their Defeat, drew out his Men to finish their Destruction. *Badajoz* sent to ask him, why he came out in hostile Manner, when he took him for a Friend. He answer'd, he was none of his Friend, but that he and all

all his Subjects were his Enemies, and then began the Fight, casting many Darts, and Stones. The *Spaniards* in this Distress plucking up their fainting Spirits, fell on furiously, and the *Indians*, to avoid the dreadful Cuts of the Swords, ran into the River that was close by, whence they continu'd throwing Stones and Darts, in such Manner, that had not the Night come on, the *Spaniards* must all have perish'd. The wounded Men not being able to march, those that were sound carry'd them off, till they came to a Place where they made Floats, on which they pass'd down to the Sea, where the Canoes were. Advancing still sometimes by Land, and sometimes by Sea, they came into the Country of the Cazique *Chame*, who met them with his Men in Arms, and drawing a Line on the Ground, swore he would kill them all if they went over it; but that he would give them Plenty of all Necessaries where they were. They were in such Want of Food and Rest, that they drew back to the Sea, and the Cazique furnish'd them with all that the Country could afford. Being about ten or twelve Leagues from the Island, then famous for abounding in Pearls and Gold, and somewhat refresh'd by the Favour of *Chame*, *Gonzalo de Badajoz*, tho' in a bad Condition, did not think fit to lie idle, but laying aside the Care of the Sick and Wounded, took them out of the Canoes, and with forty Men that were best able, pass'd over to the Island, where landing in the Night he seiz'd the Cazique. The *Indians* believing they had been other Enemies they had on the Continent, arm'd against them, but as soon as they felt the Swords, turn'd their Backs. The Cazique having ransom'd himself for a Sum of Gold, Captain *Badajoz* return'd to the Place where he had left the sick and wounded. As they advanc'd farther, the Fame of their being defeated spreading through the Country, all conspir'd to consume them. *Tabor* march'd out with three hundred Men, and fought for
some

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Some Time, yet could not obstruct their passing forward. *Piriquete* did the like, however the Swords clear'd the Way, and when they came to a Creek the Sea forms, whence the Island of *Taboga* can be seen, lying about eight or ten Leagues out at Sea, *Badajoz* resolv'd not to pass by without visiting it, came upon it by surprize, secur'd the Cazique, and tho' they had some Rencounters with the *Indians*, they stay'd there thirty Days. When they had set the Cazique at Liberty, rested themselves, and cur'd the wounded, they return'd to the Continent, with seven thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, in Order to proceed to *Darien*. As soon as landed, they fell in upon the Towns of the Cazique *Chepo*, where they took some *Indians*, but whilst *Badajoz* was distributing them, the Cazique arriv'd with his Men, wounded some *Spaniards*, and kill'd *Alonso Perez de la Rua*. Marching on with the utmost Expedition they came into the Territories of *Tubanama* and *Pocorosa*, which were quite abandon'd, the Licentiate *Espinosa* being there, to whom, *Badajoz* gave an Account of all his Proceedings. In conclusion, he arriv'd at *Darien*, at the same Time that *Peter Arias* return'd from *Acla*, who then receiv'd a Letter from *Espinosa*, by the Dean of the Church of *Darien*, wherein he acquainted him, that he would go to recover what *Gonzalo de Badajoz* had lost, and therefore desir'd more Men to enable him to perform it; being then in the Lands of *Comagre* and *Pocorosa*, where he had little to do.

To proceed this Year 1516, with the Affairs of *Darien*, *Peter Arias*, pursuant to the Letter, above-mention'd he had receiv'd from *Espinosa*, sent him one hundred and thirty Men, under the Command of *Valenzuela*, notwithstanding that *Badajoz* claim'd that Enterprize as his Right. *Valenzuela* landing on the Continent, order'd the Ship that carry'd him to be stay'd, as *Peter Arias* had directed him, that the Men might have

no Thoughts of returning. *Espinosa* was already set forward, desiring to perform some notable Exploit, to show that Learning does not take off the Edge of Valour. Three thousand *Indians* were drawn together on the Lands of *Comagre* and *Pocorosa*, to oppose him, but as soon as they saw the Horses, which they had never seen before, they were in such a Consternation, that they all fled; however those Horses overtook them, some were kill'd, and others taken, the Dogs at the same Time making no less Havock. *Espinosa* having proceeded against them in Form, as being bred a Lawyer, hang'd some, and cut off the Noses or Hands of others, according to the Crime he laid to every one's Charge. He advanc'd to the Lands of the Cazique *Chiru*, and the better to surprize *Nata*, march'd with half his Men, and attack'd a Town in the Night. The Cazique made his Escape, and having rally'd his Men, return'd upon the *Spaniards* with great Shouts, but spying the Horses, which their Eyes had never beheld, and fearing to be torn in Pieces by them, they instantly fled. *Espinosa*, for his greater Security, order'd the Place where he was, to be palisado'd, and *Nata* perceiving that the *Spaniards* design'd to stay there, and that his Power was not sufficient to withstand them, went in peaceable Manner, and put himself into their Hands, with some few of his Subjects. *Espinosa* being inform'd where the Cazique *Escolia* was, sent *Bartholomew Hurtado*, with fifty Men to seize him, which was perform'd. Having now the two Caziques in his Power, the one Prisoner, and the other vanquish'd, thinking that all behind him was secure, he advanc'd to the Country of *Cutara*, or *Paris*, and came to the River *Cocabira*, where it was told him, he had the Gold taken from *Badajoz* to restore it to him, because his Wives said the *Spaniards* would return to demand it. Captain *James de Albitez* march'd before with ninety *Spaniards*, and spying twenty *Indians*
near

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near a Wood, with their Arms, attack'd them, they fought desperately, tho' they suffer'd by the Swords. Then four thousand *Indians* came out of the Wood, and the Caziقة *Paris* with them, shouting after a hideous Manner. Both Sides behav'd themselves with great Resolution, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other charging and giving Way, till *Espinosa* coming up, the Horses appearing, and the Dogs being let loose, not one of the *Indians* stood his Ground.

Valenzuela advanc'd with his hundred and thirty Men, in Quest of *Espinosa*, over Hills and Dales, not knowing which Way he went, being all much spent with Travel and Hunger, a Thing few Nations would have endur'd like them. One Day they perceiv'd some Horse-Dung in a *Zavana*, or Plain, which was a great Comfort to them, and a few Days after, they fir'd some Muskets they had, in the Night. *Bartholomew Hurtado*, whom *Espinosa* had sent to seek for Provisions, being in great Want, because all the Natives were in Arms, heard them, made the Way the Noise came, and the two Parties met to their mutual Satisfaction. Being all join'd to *Espinosa*, they look'd upon themselves to be so strong, that all the Inhabitants of the Continent could not obstruct their Undertakings. Captain *James de Albitez* having the Caziقة of *Huete* in his Custody, was told by him, that the Treasure taken from Captain *Badajoz*, lay in a little *Bobio* or *Indian* House, two Leagues from thence. At the same Time, an *Indian* Woman, that belong'd to *Espinosa* said, that *Bobio* belong'd to the Devils, who would cause the Earth to open, and swallow the *Spaniards*. *Albitez* was at that Place somewhat late in the Night, and stay'd there in much Dread, for the *Bobios*, or Houses shook all the Night, like Reeds, to the great Astonishment of them all, who had Recourse to Prayer, blessing themselves, and using such other Acts of Devotion as they knew. *Albitez* return'd without

the

the Gold, relating the Fright he had been in. He went again with sixty Men, to the Country of the Cazique *Quema*, where the Gold was said to be, *Paris* having hid it there. *Quema's* Subjects drew out in fierce manner to oppose him; but he being of a peaceable Disposition, sent them Word, that he went not to do them any Harm, but to establish Friendship, and therefore they might lay down their Arms. They readily did so, and three Caziques went to him. When he ask'd them for the Gold, they said, they knew nothing of it. He carry'd them to *Espinosa*, who being crafty, with fair Words, discover'd where it was, and sending twenty Men with them, within the Space of two Hours they return'd; with the Gold in five Petacas, or Baskets, such as have been describ'd before, containing about eighty thousand Castellanos, or Pieces of Eight. *Espinosa* designing to seek out the rest march'd into the Province of the Cazique *Chicacoria*, where he stay'd till the Rains were over, because there was great Plenty of Provisions. Here they receiv'd Advice, that having left *Peter de Arvalo* and *Michael Sanchez* with the Cazique of *Capecho*, to be taken care of because they were sick, he having promis'd so to do, as soon as *Espinosa's* back was turn'd, he had cut them in Pieces, with much Solemnity of Singing and Dancing, which in *Hispaniola* they call *Aretos*.

WHILST the Spaniards were in Winter Quarters, they built a sort of Church, where the Priests said Mass, and baptiz'd many Women, and Children, but prevail'd little on Men of Years, who were hardned in their Infidelity. In the mean time, the Indians of the Country about, thirsting after Revenge, and desiring to expel their Enemies, assembled to the Number of above twenty thousand, and came to a Battle. Those Barbarians fought more obstinately than they were wont, confiding in their Numbers; but the Spaniards being now expert at their Manner of Fighting, took the

proper Seasons to attack, and to retire, relieving one another, keeping close to their Order, discharging their Cross-Bows, firing their Muskets, and covering themselves with their Targets, so opportunely as not to omit the offensive Part, nor be wanting in the defensive; thus with the Help of the Horses, and the Cross-Bows, the *Indians* were routed, and many slain; but the confederate *Indians* being about two hundred, made the greatest Slaughter, fighting resolutely under the Protection of the *Spaniards*. When it was Time to march, they departed from *Nata* on the 9th of *July* 1516, towards the *Cazique Escolia*, and *Espinosa* sent *Valenzuela* to the Province of *Guarari*, to see if any Canoes could be made. Having two already, he sent the Commanders *Hernan Ponce*, and *Bartholomeu Hurtado* in them, who discover'd some Islands, and much of the Coast to the Eastward, fought with some of the Islanders, defeated them, reduc'd others by fair Means, and return'd with twelve Canoes more, many *Indians*, Gold, and other Booty. *Espinosa's* Men suffer'd very much for Want of Provisions, because they liv'd upon nothing but Roots. Two Brothers of the *Cazique Escolia* were taken, of a gigantick Stature, and one of them had as great a Beard as any *Spaniard*, which was altogether strange among the *Indians*. They proceeded to the Provinces of *Pocou*, and *Tabiava*, three Days March farther on, reduc'd them, and there found the same Sort of Sport at Ball, as in *Hispaniola*. Hence they resolv'd to return to *Darien*, tho' the Canoes were not come back, and found all the Provinces revolted. Those in the Canoes went so far as to hear of *Veragua*, and where the *Indians* said, that from the Coast of the *South-Sea* there were only three Suns, that is, three Days Journey to the *North-Sea*, tho' they mistook, for there was more. Returning the same Way they had gone to the Lands of the *Cazique Tubanama*, they march'd against the *Cazique Chanina*, who

who had threatned *Basco Nuñez*. He fought with much Courage and Resolution, but his Weapons not being answerable, was routed. *Espinosa* came to *Comagre*, where he found Captain *Christopher Serrano*, who had been sent by *Peter Arias* to reduce that Province, which had revolted again. They proceeded to *Acla*, where *Basco Nuñez de Balboa* then was, who gave them enough to eat, and Provisions to serve them to *Darien*, whither they carry'd above two thousand Slaves, and the eighty thousand Pieces of Eight of the Gold that *Gonzalo de Badajoz* and *Lewis de Mercado* had lost, besides some other Quantity, having at this Time discover'd one hundred and fifty Leagues along the Coast. They presently went about the Distribution of the Gold and Slaves, deducting the fifth for the King, and the General's Share, and then giving each Man his proper Part, so that they were all rich, and propos'd to themselves to live great, and be merry; forgetting all past Miseries, and never playing for less than one, two, three, or more Crowns, and *Peter Arias* at once play'd away one hundred Slaves, so extravagant was this Folly in the *Indies*, which occasion'd the making of a Law that none should play away above ten Pieces of Eight within the Compass of a natural Day.

THE Captains *Hernan Ponce* and *Bartholomew Hurtado*, having been as far as the Bay of *Osa*, ninety Leagues from *Nata*, came into the Country of a People call'd *Chinchires*, whom they found ready to defend themselves with a great Number of arm'd Men. The *Spaniards* not daring to land, ran above fifty Leagues down the Coast, and found a Bay above twenty Leagues in Compass, full of the Islands above-mention'd, being an excellent Harbour, by the *Indians* call'd *Chira*, and by the *Spaniards* *San Lucas*, now the Port of *Nicoya*, a Province of *Nicaragua*, very fruitful and agreeable. Near by there was a great Number of Canoes with arm'd Men, and very many more appear'd on the

Coast, with their little Trumpets, or Cornets, threatening, and looking very fierce; but as soon as they had fir'd some little Guns they had aboard, all that were in the Canoes fled ashore. *Hernan Ponce*, and *Bartholomew Hurtado* perceiving nothing was to be got there, when they had landed on some Islands by fair Means, and on others by Force, and the Coast still stretching out much farther, they thought fit to return to join *Espinosa*, who being gone, they overtook him, and he by Order of *Peter Arias*, left Captain *Hernan Ponce* at *Panama*, being a Province where the Air is wholesome when it blows off the Sea, and bad when it comes from the Land. It abounds in Gold, as also in Deer and Fowl. Along the Coast is a great Pearl Fishery, where they saw Whales, and Alligators thirty Foot long, in the Maws of some of which being kill'd, they found Pebbles, for they take them in by way of Ballast, to sink down to the Bottom, because they cannot well do it without them. At *Panama* an Alligator has been known to take a Man off from the Stern of a Boat, and carry him away to the Rocks, where as he was tearing him in Pieces, he was kill'd with a Musket Shot; the Man being recover'd as the Monster was biting him off near the Groin, was carry'd to the Hospital, where he liv'd long enough to receive the Rites of the Church. The Inhabitants spoke and were cloath'd like those of *Darien*, their Dances, Rites, and Religion much like those of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*. The Men were much given to carving and painting. They call'd their Idol *Tahira*, and cloath'd him as he appear'd to them, talk'd to him and had him in several Shapes of Gold cast. Those *Indians* were addicted to the Flesh, to Idleness, Theft, and Play, and had many Wizards, who suck'd the Children at the Navel, and Sorcerers. Some of them thought there was nothing more than being born and dying, and these observ'd no Ceremonies at their Funerals. Those that believ'd the

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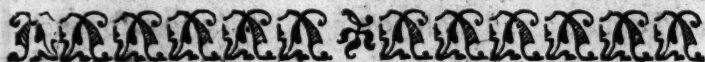
the Immortality of the Soul, put into the Tombs Bread, Liquor, Women, and Youths, their Treasures, Arms, and Feathers; and those that could not afford so much, laid in Bread, Liquor, and some Pieces of Cloth. They parch'd up the Bodies of their Lords at the Fire, instead of embalming them. On the Burial Day they danc'd, and kiss'd the Feet of the Son, or Nephew that inherited, he lying in the Bed, that being their Way of Swearing Allegiance to him.

NOT to forget what hapned in *Spain* relating to the *West-Indies*. F. *Bartholomew de las Casas*, who had taken upon him to protect the *Indians*, going over upon that Errand, heard at *Sevil*, that King *Ferdinand* was dead, which hapned on the 23d of *January* 1516. F. *Francis Ximenez de Cisneros*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and afterwards Cardinal, then enter'd upon the Administration of the Government, for the young King *Charles*. He thinking the *Indies* would be best govern'd by religious Men, sent three Friars of the Order of *St. Jerome*, to take upon them the chief Administration of Affairs in those Parts, but F. *Casas*'s Negotiations were put off till the Arrival of the new King.

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CHAP.



C H A P. III.

Peter Arias, and Basco Nuñez de Balboa reconcil'd; the latter goes to Acla, builds Ships, and carries them over by Land to the South-Sea, &c. Discoveries in the Province of Yucatan.



WHILST *Espinosa* was employ'd, as has been said, *Basco Nuñez de Balboa* continu'd at *Darien*, quite out of Favour with *Peter Arias*, and in the nature of a Prisoner; for he had no good Opinion of him, and since he had got the Title of *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant, he was pleas'd to keep him under; thinking that being acceptable to the King he would eclipse his Actions. *Basco Nuñez* had apply'd himself to the Bishop *F. John de Quevedo*, and gain'd his Affection, so that either by Perswasion, or of his own Accord, he us'd his endeavours to prevail with *Peter Arias* to lay aside the Prejudice he had conceiv'd against him, to honour, encourage, and employ him, as he did others, since he might be more serviceable by reason of his Valour, Experience, and the Title of *Adelantado*; and the Bishop being very eloquent, represented the good Opinion the King had conceiv'd of him, as well as all the People; how much he had labour'd in discovering those Countries; his saving the first *Spaniards* at *Uraba*, with much more to this Effect. These Perswasions prevailing, *Peter Arias* thought fit to comply, and

to bind this Friendship and Reconciliation the faster, it was agreed, that *Basco Nunez* should marry the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter to *Peter Arias*, who was then in *Spain*. Hereupon it was resolv'd, that *Basco Nunez* should go settle a Colony, at the Port of *Acla*, where *Gabriel de Rojas* was in the Fort *Peter Arias* had founded, and that he should endeavour to build some Brigantines on the *South-Sea*, in order to discover the great Wealth that was conceiv'd to be in those Parts. *Basco Nunez* set out from *Darien* with eighty Men, who went with him of their own Accord, and sailing down the Coast found few Men in the Fort, and those in much Fear of the *Indians*. He appointed *Alcaldes* and *Regidores*, that is, Magistrates, and call'd it the Town of *Acla*, lying on the Sea, and having a deep Harbour, but dangerous for Ships going in or out, by Reason of the strong Currents. He order'd, that since there were then no *Indians* near by, every Man should sow his own proper Spot of Ground, with his own Hands, or by his Slaves, that they might have Food; for he had extraordinary Foresight in all Things relating to War, or civil Government, and was the first himself to set a good Example, being very strong and then about forty Years of Age. At this Time the Licenciate *Espinosa* arriv'd there, in his Return from the Country of *Paris*, and *Basco Nunez*, like a Man of Experience, being sensible that when those Soldiers came to *Darien*, and the Gold was divided among them all, they could not long continue idle, went aboard a Brigantine after them, with a design to get all the Men he could to enlarge his new Town, and apply himself to building of Ships on the *South-Sea*, which at that Time was the ultimate End they all aim'd at. *Peter Arias* was glad to see him, and treating him to outward Appearance, like a Son, gave him two hundred Soldiers, and furnished all that was necessary for that Enterprize. Returning to

to *Acla* with three small Vessels, he found that *James de Albiuez*, whom he had left in his own Stead, was gone away to *Hispaniola*, to ask leave to settle a Colony at *Nombre de Dios*, in Order from thence to carry on the Discovery of the *South-Sea*; for all that were grown rich long'd to be exempt from Subjection, of which number *James de Albiuez* was one, and not finding the Dispatch he expected, being referr'd to *Peter Arias*, he hir'd a Ship, and return'd to *Darien* with sixty Men pretending he went for Men, and Provisions. *Peter Arias* seem'd to be well pleas'd with his going, and returning, because he was a Man of good Sense and Discretion.

WHEN *James de Albiuez* had rested some Days, he ask'd leave of *Peter Arias* to go make an Incurſion into *Veragua*, because it was reputed very wealthy, and *Basco Nuñez*, was much offended at the Presumption of *Albiuez*, but all Men then dissembled that they might shew their Teeth at the proper Season. *Basco Nuñez* sent one *Companion*, Nephew to *Albiuez*, to see whether there was Conveniency for building of Ships, at the River *De las Balsas*, who return'd with an Account, that there was every Thing requisite. Having fifty Soldiers with him, he undertook to attack some *Caziques*, but they stood upon their Guard, and no Harm was done on either Side. Whilst *Companion* was going, and returning, *Basco Nuñez* began to hew down Timber to build the Ships, he and those that were with him working at it, for among his other good Qualities he always kept his Men employ'd about some publick or private Work. All the Timber for four Brigantines was hew'd out, to be carry'd to the River *De las Balsas*, and fitted up there. *Basco Nuñez* again sent *Companion* to the Top of the Mountains from whence the Waters run down to the *South-Sea*, for him there to build a House, to rest the Men that were to carry on their Backs the Timber, the Anchors, and

and the Rigging, and to keep Provisions, and Necessaries for their Defence. When the House was built on the Top of the Mountains, he undertook the conveying of the Timber to it, being about twelve Leagues along Hills and Rivers, the *Indian* Slaves, and thirty Blacks they had carrying those Burdens, and every *Spaniard* what he could. It is not to be imagin'd what immense Toil there was in transporting those Things, and yet no *Spaniard*, nor Black dy'd, but of the *Indians* many perish'd; nor was it thought that any Man at that Time in the *Indies* durst have attempted such an Action, or would have succeeded in it, besides *Basco Nuñez*, and therefore *Peter Arias*'s Enemies said, that he kept him under Oppression, for Fear he should eclipse his Honour.

THE Timber being thus carry'd over to the River *De las Balsas*, as has been beforemention'd, was thus provided being only sufficient to build two Brigantines, and there being need of two more, *Basco Nuñez* divided all his Men, *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and Blacks into three Parties. The first to hew down, and work the Timber, the second to bring over from *Acla* the Iron Work, Rigging, and other Necessaries, the Distance between the two Seas being about twenty-two Leagues; and the third to go a marauding, that is, to get Provisions for them all. A Misfortune hapned, which discourag'd them very much, and was, that the Timber being cut near the Salt Water, was presently worm eaten, so that all their Labour was lost. However *Basco Nuñez* was not cast down, for he presently apply'd a Remedy, which was hewing fresh Timber on the River, and when it was ready to put upon the Stocks, there fell such mighty Floods as carry'd away part of it, and part was bury'd in Mud, the Water rising two Fathoms above it, the Men having no other way to save themselves but climbing the Trees, where they were scarce safe.

This made *Basco Núñez* despond, meeting with so many Difficulties in his Undertaking, so that he was in the Mind to return to *Acla*, as it were in Despair, Hunger at the same Time pressing him to it; for the third Party of his Men, whom he had order'd to bring in Provisions, did not answer his Expectation. This was a Proof of the Constancy of the *Spanish* Nation, and their Patience under Afflictions. *Francis* Companion offer'd to pass the River to seek for Provisions, To this Effect they made a Bridge of large Timbers bound together with Wythes, by some that could swim, and yet it prov'd such that they had the Waters up to their Middles in passing, and some up to their Breasts. *Basco Núñez* fed upon Roots, whence may be concluded how his Men liv'd. In short, he was forc'd to go away to *Acla*, though not upon his first Motive, but to get some Provision, and more *Spaniards*, if any should happen to come from *Darien*, or the Islands; and to that Purpose he sent *Hurtado* to *Darien*, to fetch Anchors and Rigging, and forward all Things. *Francis* Companion return'd with Provisions, loaded upon many *Indians*; as did *Hurtado* to *Acla*, with sixty *Spaniards* he had from *Peter Arias*, and other Things that were wanting. *Basco Núñez*, being encourag'd by this Supply, went back to the River *De las Balsas*, with all Necessaries to carry on the Work of his Ships, two whereof he finish'd with immense Labour, and much suffering through Hunger. They being launch'd, he embark'd with as many *Spaniards* as they could carry, and sail'd to the greatest of the Pearl Islands, where whilst the Brigantines carry'd over the rest of his Men, he endeavour'd to bring together all the Provisions that could be found in the Island, as well as to reduce the Inhabitants by Want, as to have enough for himself whilst he stay'd there. Here *Basco Núñez* is said to have receiv'd a Letter from *Dón James de Daza*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, who had

had contributed in some Measure towards the Discovery of the *Indies*, being then Preceptor to Prince *John*, wherein he told him, he had heard of his Discovering the *South-Sea*, and that he might be assur'd, if he follow'd the Land to the Westward, he would meet with *Indians* that us'd Spears, and wore Armour on their Bodies, and if he went to the Eastward, he would find much Wealth, and Cattle. After what has been said, *Basco Nunez* sail'd towards the Continent Eastward, with above one hundred Men; because the *Indians* he had Prisoners told him, there was much Gold that way, which was the third Indication of the prodigious Wealth of *Pern*. Coming near a Harbour, which was call'd Port, or Point *Pinas*, twenty five Leagues, or somewhat more beyond the Cape, or Point of St. *Michael*, they saw abundance of Whales, which look'd like Rocks, stretching out very far in the Sea. The Sailors were afraid to come near, because Night was drawing on, and arriv'd at another Point, designing to hold on their Voyage the next Day; but the Wind proving contrary, *Basco Nunez* thought fit to go land in the Country of the Cazique *Chicama*, to revenge the Death of the *Spaniards* that went with *Gaspard de Morales*. The Natives advanc'd to oppose them, but the *Spanish* Swords soon made way, and left them Masters of the Country. *Basco Nunez* return'd to the Island, and order'd Timber to be hew'd to build two other Vessels. He wanted Iron, Pitch, and other Necessaries to finish them, which he sent for from *Acla*, and Advice being brought, that *Lope de Sosa*, a Gentleman of *Cordova*, was coming over to be Governour of the Continent, *Basco Nunez* wanted to know, what News there was of him, believing that if his Father-in-law *Peter Arias* were depriv'd of the Government, he should himself be remov'd from that Enterprize, and his Ships would be taken from him, to be given to some one that came over with the new Governour.

Being apprehensive hereof, one Night talking with one *Valderrabano*, and *Roderick Perez*, a Priest, he said to them, "That according to the Time since *Lope de Sosa's* Commission had been heard of, it was possible he might be come; and if he is come, *Peter Arias* my Lord, will be out of the Government, and thus we shall be disappointed of our Wishes, and lose all the Pains we have taken, to our utter Ruin. I am of Opinion, that, in Order to know what is best for us to do, Captain *Francis Garabito* be sent to the Town of *Acla*, for the Iron and Pitch we stand in need of; and that he enquire, whether he is come, that, if he is, they may return, and we will finish these Ships the best we can, and proceed upon our Enterprize; and whatsoever Way it happens, it is to be thought, that the Governour will receive us favourably, that we may serve and assist him. But, if my Lord *Peter Arias* continues still in the Government, they shall acquaint him with the Condition we are in, he will furnish us with what we desire, and we will set out on our Voyage, which I hope in God, will succeed according to our Wishes."

It was reported, that when *Basco Nuñez* was talking, it began to rain, and that the Sentinel who was at his Post, shelter'd himself under the House where *Basco Nuñez* was, to keep himself dry, and heard him say, they would go their Voyage in the Ships, without hearing any more of the Discourse, or upon what Account those Words were spoken; whereupon fancying that it was meant to run away from *Peter Arias*, he, upon this mistaken Notion, never imparted the same to any Man, till he had an Opporunity to discover it to *Peter Arias* himself. *Garabito* was sent away to *Acla*, with forty Men, who finding that *Lope de Sosa* was not come, but *Peter Arias* continu'd in the Government, resolv'd to proceed to *Darien*; and it was no Wonder that the Advice of *Lope de Sosa's* being nominated should reach

the *Indies*, before he had his Commission, because being then Governour of the *Canary* Islands, it took up some Time to send him Word, and wait his Answer. When *Basco Nunez* set out the last Time for the River *de las Balsas*, it was reported, that *Garabito* had writ to *Peter Arias*, that he was then as good as revolted, designing never more to submit to him. *Peter Arias* being already jealous of him, easily gave Credit to it, and it afterwards appear'd, that *Garabito* had given this Account of *Basco Nunez* being then incens'd against him for some hard Expressions he had us'd towards him, as has been said above, about the *Indian* Woman the *Cazique Carera* had given him; it being a difficult Matter for Men of Honour to put up ill Words.

AFTER *Espinosa* had been upon the Expedition against the *Cazique Paris*, the Factor *John de Tabira*, coveting the Wealth that was reported to be in the Temple of the Idol at *Dobaybe*, begg'd as a Favour of *Peter Arias*, that he would permit him to go upon that Enterprize, which being granted, he built three Foists, and bought several Canoes of the Inhabitants of *Darien*, in Order to go up the Great River, to the Place where the Temple was. Upon these Preparations he not only expended what he had of his own, but as much as he could get out of the King's Chest. Setting out with his Vessels, and one hundred and sixty *Spaniards* aboard them, he went up the River with much Difficulty, by reason of the strong Current. The People of *Dobaybe* being upon their Guard, and inform'd of his Coming, advanc'd against them with three large Canoes, and surprizing the *Spaniards*, in a Moment kill'd one, and wounded several of them. The Canoes then drew under the Shelter of the Foists, or Brigantines, desiring to go on, and to send Men by Land; but the River on a sudden swell'd so high with a Flood, great Rains having fallen upon the Mountains, that several Trees were not to be seen. The Factor's
Canoe

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Canoe struck upon one of those that were under Water, and oversetting, the Factor himself, and the Inspector *John de Birnes* were drowned, those that could swim escaping. The Men made choice of *Francis Pizarro* to command them, being a very expert Soldier, and a discreet Person, who conducted them safe back to *Darien*. *Peter Arias* was much concern'd at this Loss, but still encourag'd the Men, bidding them be easy, for he would appoint *Francis Pizarro* to command them upon an Expedition to *Abrayme*, where they might get so much Wealth as would relieve all their Wants. Some being quite out of Humour by reason of their great Sufferings, would not go, but others consented. When *Francis Pizarro* came into the Country of *Abrayme*, the Inhabitants having been alarm'd by former Excursions, he found neither Gold, nor People, nor any thing to eat, so that his Men being ready to starve eat seven Horses they had taken with them, to be able to return to *Darien*, where they arriv'd in a very doleful Condition. Some few Days after, *James de Albitez* return'd with a great Quantity of Gold, and many Slaves he had taken along the Coast of *Nombre de Dios*, and in the Provinces of *Chagre* and *Veragua*. The Licenciado *Espinosa*, being more inclin'd to apply himself to Arms, than the Profession of the Law, as soon as he return'd from the Expedition before spoken of, prevail'd with *Peter Arias* to go again upon farther Discoveries, as *Basco Nuñez* had suspected. He took a long Journey, and as he tells us, in his Memorials, at this Time discover'd four hundred Leagues along the Coast, and settled the Colony of *Narra*, which was the first *Spanish* Town on the *South-Sea*.

THERE being great Scarcity of Provisions at *Darien*, to maintain the *Spaniards*, this Year 1517, the Governour *Peter Arias*, gave leave to such as would to go away to other Parts; and whereas it was then reported abroad, that the *Spaniards* in *Cuba* were rich, and at their Ease through

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through the good Management of *James Velasquez*, the Governour, about one hundred Men went over to that Island, most of them well born, who were favourably receiv'd by the said Governour, he promising to provide for them in Time. Some Months after, *Velasquez* propos'd to them to go out upon new Discoveries, towards those Parts where the first Admiral *Christopher Columbus*, and the Adelantado *John Ponce de Leon* had been, that is, the Coasts of *Yucatan*, or *Florida*. The Governour's Design being made known, *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, a rich and brave Man, who had *Indians* of his own, offer'd to go as Captain of those Men, which being granted, he fitted out two Ships, and a Brigantine, with all necessary Stores. He list'd one hundred and ten Soldiers, and sail'd from *Santo Domingo* of *Cuba* to the *Havana*, where they took up *Alonso Gonzalez*, a Priest, to say Mass, and administer the Sacraments to them. They left the *Havana* on the 8th of *February*, this Year 1517, and on the 12th they doubled Cape St. *Antony*; holding on their Course to the Westward, because the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos*, said the first Admiral had always inclin'd that Way, when he sail'd with him, being a Boy. They had a Storm, that held them two Days, in which they expected to have perish'd, and after twenty-one Days of their being at Sea, lying by at Nights, as unacquainted in those Seas, they saw Land, and from their Ships could descry a large Town, which was about two Leagues from the Coast. As they drew near, two Canoes full of Men appear'd, rowing along. They hal'd them, the Canoes drew near, and thirty *Indians* went aboard the Commadore, having Jackets without Sleeves, and Pieces of Cloth wrapp'd about them instead of Breeches. The *Spaniards* gave them to eat, some *Spanish* Wine, and Strings of Beads. They made Signs, for there was no Interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next Day, with more Canoes to carry them ashore;

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ashore; very much admiring the Ships, the Men, the Beards, the Cloaths, the Arms, and other Things they had never seen before. The next Day they return'd with twelve Canoes, and an *Indian*, who was the *Cazique*, cry'd out, *Conex Cotoche*, that is, Come to my Houses, and for this Reason that Place was call'd *Cape Cotoche*. The *Spaniards* having consulted together, hoised out their Boats, and in them, and the Canoes went ashore, with their Arms, where an infinite Number of People waited to see them. The *Cazique* still press'd them to go to his House, and they observing so many Tokens of Friendship, concluded to do that upon Courtesy, which perhaps they might be oblig'd to perform by Force, and was to take a view of the Country. When they came to a Wood, the *Cazique* call'd out to a great Number of arm'd Men, that lay in Ambush, and immediately there appear'd a Multitude in Armour made of quilted Cotton, with Targets, wooden Swords having Edges of Flints, large Cutlasses, Spears and Slings, adorn'd with Plumes of Feathers, and their Faces painted of several Colours. They gave a hideous Shout, making no less Noise with warlike musical Instruments, pouring in at the same Time such a Shower of Stones and Arrows, that they wounded fifteen *Spaniards*, after which they came to handy Strokes, and fought with much Resolution. The *Spaniards* had only twenty-five Cross-Bows, and Muskets, which were well ply'd, but when the *Indians* felt the Sharpness of the *Spanish* Swords, they fled, many of them being wounded, and seventeen kill'd.

AT the Place where this Rancounter hapned, there were three Houses built with Lime and Stone, being Places of Worship, in which were many earthen Idols, with Faces like Devils, or other hideous Creatures, and some of Women, as also of Men lying one upon another, representing the Sin of *Sodom*. Whilst the Men were engag'd, the Priest *Alonso Gonzalez*, convey'd
away

away from those Temples some small Boxes, in which there were earthen and wooden Idols, with little Plates, Ornaments, and Diadems of Gold. There were taken in this Action two Youths, who became Christians, and were call'd *Julian* and *Melchior*. The *Spaniards* return'd to their Ships, well pleas'd for having found a rational Sort of People, and other Things different from what there was at *Darien*, and in the Islands, and more especially Houses of Stone and Lime, which had not till then been seen in the *Indies*. They held on their Course down the Coast, always lying by at Night; and having advanc'd fifteen Days after this Manner, they spy'd a large Town, and a Bay near it, which they believ'd to be a River, where they might water, for they were in Want. They landed on the *Sunday* before *Palm-Sunday*, in *Spanish* call'd the *Sunday* of *Lazarus*, and therefore they gave it that Name; but the *Indians* call'd it *Quimpech*, whence it had afterwards the Name of *Campeche*. Being come to a Well of good Water, of which the Natives us'd to drink, when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their Ships, fifty *Indians* clad in Jackets, with large Cotton Cloths instead of Cloaks came, and by Signs ask'd them, what they wanted, and whether they came from those Parts where the Sun rises, inviting them to go to their Town. When they had seriously consider'd on it, and put themselves into a good Posture of Defence, for fear of being serv'd as they had been at *Cotoche*, they went to certain Places of Worship, built with Lime and Stone, where there were Idols of sundry ugly Shapes, as they had seen in the former, with fresh Signs of Blood, as also Crosses painted, which they were much amaz'd at. Abundance of People, Men, Women, and Children came flocking, look'd upon them with Astonishment, and some of them smil'd; soon after which two Parties of arm'd Men appear'd in good Order, like those of *Cotoche*. From one of the

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Temples issu'd ten Men in very long white Mantles, their Hair long, black, and roul'd up, that it might not fly about. In their Hands they had little earthen Fire-Pans into which they cast Gum Anime, which they call'd *Copal*, and perfum'd the *Spaniards*, bidding them to depart their Country, or they would kill them. Then they began to beat their little Kettle-Drums, and to sound their Horns, Trumpets, and Pipes. The *Spaniards*, because the Men that had been wounded at *Cotoche* were not yet recover'd, but two of them dy'd, retir'd to the Shore in good Order, still pursu'd by the arm'd Parties, and embark'd again without any Loss. When they had sail'd six Days longer, the Wind came up at North, bearing upon the Coast, so that they had like to have perish'd. When the Storm ceas'd, they endeavour'd to draw near to the Shore, to water, because their Casks were bad, and leaky, so that their Water lasted not long. They anchor'd near a Town, in a Bay, that look'd like a River, where they landed in the Afternoon, a League from a Town call'd *Potonchan*, fill'd their Vessels, at some Wells they found near certain Places of Worship of Lime and Stone, like the former. When ready to return, they perceiv'd arm'd Men advancing towards them from the Town, just as the others they had seen before. They ask'd, Whether they came from those Parts where the Sun rises; the *Spaniards* answer'd, they did, and then the *Indians* drew back to some Houses, because Night came on, and the *Spaniards*, for the same Reason, resolv'd to stay there. A great martial Noise being heard some Hours after, the *Spaniards* upon Debate were divided, some being for embarking, and others thinking the Retreat dangerous, because there seem'd to be three hundred *Indians* to every one of them. When Day appear'd, they perceiv'd that the first Parties had been join'd by others, who encompassing them, pour'd in a great Shower of Arrows, Stones from Slings, and Darts, which wounded

near

near eighty *Spaniards*, with whom they clos'd, using their Swords, and Spears; and tho' the *Spaniards* were not idle with their Fire-Arms, Cross-Bows, and Swords, the *Indians* streightned them; but when they felt the *Spanish* Swords, they drew farther off, the better to take Aim with their Arrows. Whilst they fought they cry'd out, *Calachuni, Calachuni*, which in the Language of *Tucatan* signifies, Cazique, or Captain, meaning that they should shoot at the Commander *Francis Hernandez*, and they were not wanting in their Endeavours, for they shot twelve Arrows into him, which it was generally said he might have avoided, for there was no Encounter in which he was not foremost, tho' there was then more occasion for his directing than acting. Finding himself so much wounded, not in thirty three Places, as *Gomara* writes, as were many of his Men; that they had carry'd off two of his Men, the one call'd *Alonso Bote*, and the other an old *Portuguese*, and that the Valour of his Men could not vanquish such a Multitude, many continually resorting to them, they made a most furious onset and broke thro' them, the *Indians* still pursuing, with hideous Noise, and Cries. When they came to the Boats, their Number being great, they were ready to sink; but still they made off, some only hanging by them, the Natives shooting at them, and running into the Water to wound them with their Spears. Seven and forty *Spaniards* were kill'd in this Action, and five dy'd aboard the Ships. The wounded Men endur'd most piercing Pains, their Hurts having been wet with the Sea Water, and swelling, cursing the Pilot *Alaminos* for his Discovery, who still persisted that the Country was an Island, and they call'd this Bay *De mala Pelea*, that is, of the bad fight, for the ill Success they had met with.

THE *Spaniards* that escap'd aboard the Ships gave God thanks for their Deliverance out of that Danger, but being all wounded except only one, they resolved

solved to return to *Cuba*, and in order to it burnt one of their Ships, that was leaky, because they wanted able Hands to sail them both, and ply the Pump. Being almost perish'd for want of Drink, having left their Casks at *Potonchan*, some of the soundest Men went ashore, who could get no Water but what was brackish, which they took at a Creek where there were many large Alligators, and therefore they call'd it *De los Lagartos*, or of Alligators. *Antony de Alaminos* advising with the other Pilots, it was resolv'd to stand over for *Florida*, and accordingly in four Days they discovered that Country. *Alaminos*, the Pilot, was sent ashore, with twenty of the soundest Soldiers carrying Cross-bows, and Muskets, and the Captain *Francis Hernandez*, who was much wounded begg'd he would speedily bring him some Water, because he was perished for want of it. When landed near a Creek, *Alaminos* told them, he knew the Place, having been there before with *John Ponce de Leon*, and that they must be upon their Guard. Having accordingly posted Sentinels along an open Shore, they dug Pits, where they found good Water, drank some and wash'd out Linen for the wounded Men. When they were upon returning, they perceiv'd one of their Sentinels come running, and crying, *To Sea, to Sea, for abundance of warlike Indians are coming*; on the other Hand they spy'd many Canoes coming down the Creek almost as near as the Soldier. The *Indians* with long Bows and Arrows, Spears, and Swords after their manner, cloath'd in Deerskins, and being of a large Size, were dreadful to behold. They let fly their Arrows, and at the first Discharge wounded six of the Soldiers; but feeling the Effect of the Cross-bows, Muskets, and Swords, they made to the Canoes, which press'd hard upon the Sailors, and had wounded *Antony de Alaminos* in the Throat. The Soldiers clos'd with them, being up to their Waists in Water, and with their

Swords

Swords made them quit the Boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they ask'd the Soldier, who had stood Sentinel, what was become of his Comrade *Berio*, who had been the other Sentinel, he said, he had seen him step aside, with a Hatchet in his Hand to cut down a Palmito, going towards the Creek, along which the *Indians* came, and presently had heard the Cry of a *Spaniard*, which made him come to give the Alarm. That Soldier was the only one that escap'd unhurt at *Potonchan*, and it was his Fate to perish there; for the others follow'd the Track of the *Indians*, and found a Palm Tree he had begun to cut, and near it a greater Track than elsewhere, which made them conclude, that they had carry'd him away alive, because they saw no Signs of Blood, and tho' they search'd about for above an Hour, and call'd out, they return'd to the Ships without finding him. Those Men were so extreme thirsty, and desirous of Water, that, as soon as the Boat came to the Ship's Side, a Soldier leap'd into it, laid hold of a Jar, and drank so much, that he swell'd, and dy'd within two Days. Sailing from thence in two Days and Nights, they arrived at the little Islands, call'd of the *Maryrs*, where the greatest Depth being but four Fathoms, the Ship touch'd upon some Rocks, and became very leaky; but it pleas'd God, that after so many Sufferings, they arriv'd at Port *Caremas*, now the *Havana*, from whence Capt. *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* sent an Account of his Voyage to the Governour *James Velasquez*, with the Particulars of all he had seen, and dy'd ten Days after. Three of his Soldiers also dy'd at the *Havana*, which made up fifty six lost in this Expedition; the rest dispers'd themselves about the Island, and the Ships return'd to the City of *Santiago*.

WHEN *James Velasquez*, and all the rest saw the two *Indians*, that had been taken at Cape *Cotoche*, and the

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the little wooden Chests or Boxes, with the earthern, and wooden Idols, and the gold Plates, Diadems, and other Ornaments, which *Alonso Gonzalez* the Priest had taken out of the Temples, they were astonish'd, because no such Things had been seen before, and immediately the Fame of this Discovery was spread abroad through all the Islands, being much magnify'd, and look'd upon as very Wealthy. They ask'd the *Indians*, whether there was any Gold in their Country, showing them some in Dust. They answer'd, there was, which made the *Spaniards* the eagerer to carry on that Affair; but they did not speak Truth, for there are no Mines of any sort throughout the whole Kingdom of *Yucatan*. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was in this Expedition, and will be spoken of hereafter tells us, that the *Indians* being ask'd, whether they had in their Country any of those Roots that are called *Yuca*, of which the Cazabi Bread is made; they answer'd, *Ilatly*, signifying the Land where they are planted, and that joining *Yuca*, and *Ilatla*, they made *Yucatla*, and from thence came the Name of *Yucatan*. Others say, that those first Discoveries talking with the *Indians* of that Coast, when they ask'd them any Question, they answer'd, a *Toloquitlan*, pointing with the Hand, thinking they had ask'd for some Town, and the *Spaniards* understood *Lucatan*, and thence call'd the Province *Yucatan*, tho' it never had any general Name, for till the *Spaniards* subdu'd it, the same was divided under several Lords, or Caziques, who govern'd their particular Districts, as shall be said hereafter.



C H A P.



C H A P. IV.

Discoveries on the Coast of Yucatan continu'd; Basco Nuñez put to Death; Description of Castilla del Oro, or the Country about the Isthmus of America.



THE good Account *James Velasquez* had receiv'd of the Country of *Yucatan*, made him resolve to proceed in that Enterprize, and having, with all speed fitted out three Ships, and a Brigantine for that Purpose, he appointed *John de Grijalva*, a hopeful young Man, and well behav'd, being a Gentleman of the Town of *Cuellar*, to command them in Chief, *Antony de Alaminos* being again chief Pilot, as he had been in the former Voyage. The Fame of the Extent of that Country, and the Wealth it produc'd being spread abroad, about two hundred and fifty Soldiers voluntarily came in, and took some Natives of *Cuba* to serve them. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was in the Expeditions with *Francis Hernandez*, *Grijalva*, and *Cortes*, informs us, that the Instructions given to *Grijalva* were, that he should barter for as much Gold as he could, and if he found it convenient to settle any Colony he should do it, or otherwise should return. *F. Bartholomew de las Casas*, an Author of Credit, who took much Pains to be rightly inform'd, and was very intimate with *James Velasquez*, says, the Instructions were positive, that he should not make any Settlement, but only trade, and

and that he should leave all the People wheresoever he went in Peace, and Amity with the *Spaniards*, which is all contrary to what *Francis Lopez de Gomara* asserts.

ALL Things being in Readiness, *John de Grijalva* sail'd from the Port of *Santiago* in the Island of *Cuba*, on the 8th of *April* 1518, and put into the Port of *Matanzas*, or of Slaughter, on the North Side, so called, because thirty *Spaniards* arriving there in a shatter'd Ship, with two Women, had been all killed except three of the Men, and the two Women, of whom an Account has been given before. Here they took in *Cazabi Bread*, and some Swine, from the Farms of certain *Spaniards* in that Neighbourhood. Departing thence, in ten Days they doubled *Aguaniguanigo*, which is Cape St. *Antony*, where they all voluntarily cut off their Hair, thinking they should have little leisure to comb it. Eight Days after they had Sight of the Island of *Cozumel*, which was then first discover'd; the Ship, by reason of the Currents having fallen off from the Course *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* had steer'd; and encompassing the Island on the South Side, they spy'd a Town, and near to it an anchoring Place clear from Rocks. They call'd the Town *Santa Cruz*, or Holy Cross, because they had discover'd it on that Day.

John de Grijalva landed with a good Number of Soldiers, and no Body appearing, because the Natives having never seen Ships before those, when they perceiv'd them under Sail, were all fled. Whilst some went to seek for the Natives, he order'd Mass should be said, for he was devout, fear'd God, and liv'd orderly. Two old Men being found in some Fields of *Indian* Wheat, and understanding the Language of the *Indians*, *Melchor* and *Julian*, who, as has been said were taken in the former Expedition, *Grijalva* made much of, and giving them some Beads, and Looking-glasses, sent them away to their Lord, but they never return'd.

Whilst

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Whilst they waited for them, a young agreeable Woman came, and in the Language of *Jamaica* said, the People were all fled into the Wood for fear; but that she being acquainted with the Ships, and the *Spaniards*, was come to them. Many that came aboard the Ships understanding her, and admiring at it, ask'd, Who had carry'd her to that Island; she answer'd, that a Canoe going out a Fishing from *Jamaica* two Years before, with ten Men in it, a Storm, and the Currents had drove them to *Cozumel*, where her Husband, and all the rest had been sacrific'd to their Idols. *Grijalva* believing that Woman would be a trusty Messenger, sent her to call the Natives, not confiding in *Melchior*, or *Julian*, for fear they would not return. The Woman came again, two Days after, being the Time appointed her, saying, tho' she had done all she could to perswade them, they would not return. *Grijalva* finding no good to be done there, went aboard again, and took along with him the *Jamaica* Woman, because she begg'd him not to leave her there. In this Island they found many Hives of good Honey, *Bata-tas*, and Swine of that Country, having their Navel on the Back, which much refresh'd them. They saw several Places of Worship, and Temples, and particularly one in Form like a square Tower, wide at the Bottom, and hollow at the Top, with four large Windows, and Galleries, and in the hollow Part, being the Chapel, were the Idols, behind which was a Sort of Vestry, where the Things belonging to the Service of the Temple were kept. At the Foot of it was an Enclosure of Lime and Stone, with Battlements, and plaister'd, and in the Midst of it a Cross of white Lime, three Yards high, which they held to be the God of Rain, being very confident they never wanted it, when they devoutly begg'd it of the same. Crosses after the same Manner, and painted, were found in other Parts of this Island, and many in *Yucatan*, yet

none of Laton, or Tin, as *Gomara* writes, but of
 Stone, and Wood. And tho' the same *Gomara* tells us,
 that from the finding of Croffes in this Part of the
Indies, some Persons concluded, that many had fled thi-
 ther from *Spain*, when it was conquer'd by the *Moors*,
 and in another Place says, "It could not be known,
 " how those *Indians* came to have so much Devotion
 " towards the Holy-Cross, there being no Footsteps of
 " the Gospel's having been ever preach'd at *Cozumel*,
 " or in any other Part of the *Indies*;" He might easily
 have had this Doubt solv'd, because he printed his Hi-
 story in the Year 1553, and the Occasion of it was
 well known in the Year 1527, when the *Adelantado*
Francis de Montejo began the Conquest of the Province
 of *Yucatan*, and was thus. In some of the Provinces
 that receiv'd him in peaceable Manner, and particularly
 in that of *Tutulxiu*, the Capital whereof is the Town
 of *Mini*, fourteen Leagues from the Place where the
 City of *Merida* now stands, the *Spaniards* were in-
 form'd, that but a few Years before their Arrival, a
 principal *Indian* Priest, whose Name was *Chilam Cam-
 bal*, look'd upon among them as a great Prophet, told
 them, That within a short Time there would come
 from that Part where the Sun rises, a white People,
 with Beards, that would raise up the Sign of the Cross,
 which he shew'd them, saying, their Gods would not
 be able to withstand, but would fly before it; and that
 those People would subdue the Country, doing no
 Harm to such as should peaceably submit to them, and
 that they would leave their Idols, and adore one only
 God whom those Men worshipp'd. He caus'd a large
 Cotton Cloth to be wove, and told them, such the Tri-
 bute would be, which they were to pay to those Peo-
 ple, and order'd the Lord of *Mini*, whose Name was
Monchanxiu, to offer up that Cotton Cloth to the Idols,
 that it might be preserv'd. He also caus'd a Stone
 Cross to be made, and set it up in the Court of the
 Temple

Temple, that it might be seen, saying, that was the true Tree of the World, and Abundance of People went to see it, as a Novelty, and from that Time paid a Veneration to it. This was the Reason why they ask'd *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, and his Men, whether they came from that Part where the Sun rises; and when the Adelantado *Montejo* enter'd *Yucatan*, and the *Indians* saw so much Respect paid to the Cross, they concluded, that what their Prophet *Chilam Cambal* had told them, was true. I have thought fit to make this Digression here, rather than put it off any longer, to the End, that the Reader may understand how *Croisset* came to be found in *Yucatan*, about which such various Reflections have been made.

THE *Spaniards* embarking again, as has been said, sail'd along the Coast, much admiring to see large and beautiful Structures of Lime and Stone, with several high Towers, which at a Distance look'd white, and made a good Appearance; for which Reason, no such Thing having till then been seen in the *Indias*, as also on Account of what has been mention'd of the Crosses, *Grijalva* said, they had found a new *Spain*. Eight Days after they arriv'd at the Shore of *Potonchan's* Town, came to an Anchor a League from Land, because of the great Fall of the Ebb, and landed the Soldiers with all the Boats, near some Houses, where the *Indians* being puff'd up with the Conceit of their having drove *Francis Hernandez's* Men out of the Country, stood drawn up in Arms to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing, shouting, and making a great Noise with their little Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums, and tho' some Falconets there were in the Boats put them into a great Fright, (being a Thing they had never seen, yet when the Boats draw near, they began to shoot their Arrows, and cast Stones and Darts with their Slings, running into the Water to wound the *Spaniards* with their Spears; but as soon as they landed, they

made them give Way with their Swords, for tho' Abundance of Arrows flew, the *Spaniards* being taught by Experience, began to use the same Sort of defensive Armour, stuff'd with Cotton, as the *Indians* did, so that they receiv'd less Harm by the Arrows, and yet sixty Soldiers were wounded, three kill'd, and *John de Grijalva*, the Commander in Chief, was hurt with three Arrows, one of which broke some of his Teeth, for he was never backward at fighting. The Boats coming up with the Soldiers that had been left aboard, the *Indians* quitted the Field, and the *Spaniards* went to the Town, dress'd the wounded Men, bury'd the dead, and found only three of the Natives, all the rest being fled, with their Goods. *Grijalva* us'd those three well, gave them some Toys, and sent them to call the Inhabitants, promising not to hurt any Man; but they never return'd, nor would he send *Melchor*, or *Julian*, because he suspected they were not faithful Interpreters. *Grijalva* embark'd again, and came to a large wide Mouth that look'd like a River, but was not, and *Antony de Alaminos* said it was an Island, and that Water parted it from another Country, for which Reason they call'd it *Boca de Terminos*, that is, the Mouth of the Boundaries, as may be seen in the Sea-Charts. They landed, stay'd three Days, and found there was no Island, but a Bay, and good Harbour. There were Places of Worship, with Idols of Clay, and of Wood, representing Men, Women, and Serpents, but no Town could be seen, and it appear'd that those were Chapels for People that went a Trading and Hunting. During those three Days they took several Deer and Rabbits, with a Grey-hound Birch they had, which being attentive on her Game, and the *Spaniards* not minding, was left there. Holding on the same Way, always by Day, to avoid falling in among Flats, or Rocks, they spy'd a very large Mouth of a River, which upon View seem'd to be a good Harbour; but
sounding

founding it, perceiv'd that the two biggest Ships could not go in, as the two smaller did. The Boats went up the River very cautiously, because they saw many arm'd *Indians*, like those of *Potonchan* in Canoes along the Shore.

THIS River, by the Natives call'd *Tabasco*, being the Name of the Lord of the adjacent Town, the *Spaniards* nam'd *Rio de Grijalva*, or *Grijalva's* River, from their Commander in Chief, who discover'd it, and so it is call'd to this Day. As they advanc'd higher, they heard the Noise of hewing Wood, because the Inhabitants having been inform'd of what had hapned at *Potonchan*, concluded there must be War. The *Spaniards* landed at a Grove of Palm-Trees, about half a League from the Town. The *Indians* seeing them Land about fifty Canoes full of arm'd Men, with Plumes of Feathers, and very fine, after their manner, mov'd, stopp'd again at a small Distance from the *Spaniards* in a warlike Posture, and when the *Spaniards* were ready to fire their Falconets upon them, they bethought themselves first to order *Melchor* and *Julian* to speak to them. Those Interpreters told them, that they would not do them any Harm, but only treat about some Affairs that would please them. Four Canoes drew near, and being shew'd little Glasses, Strings of green Beads, and other Things, thinking they had been the Stones *Chalchibites*, much valu'd among them, they were pacify'd. Then *Grijalva* order'd the Interpreters to tell them, that those Men were Subjects of a great King, to whom mighty Princes paid Obedience, and it was reasonable they also should submit to him; because it would be much to their Advantage, and that whilst they could explain these Affairs to them they should furnish Provisions. The *Indians* answer'd, that they would give Provisions, but that they had a Lord of their own, and did not know why they who were
just

just come should offer to impose another Lord upon them; that they should take heed how they made War on them, as they had done at *Potanchan*, for that they had provided above three *Xiquipiles* (each *Xiquipil* being eight thousand) of Men against them; that they knew they had kill'd, and wounded above two hundred at *Potanchan*, but that they were not so weak as those others; and to conclude, that they were come thither to know their Will, and would go give their Report of what they said to a Number of great Men, that were assembled either to treat of Peace, or War. *Grijalva* gave them Strings of Beads, Looking-glasses, and other Things, charging them not to fail to bring back an Answer; because if they did not, he must needs go to the Town, tho' not to do any Harm. He then return'd to the two Ships, and Boats; the Messengers deliver'd their Message, and all the prime Men, and the Chief Priests, who were wont to be consulted in martial Affairs, thought that Peace was preferable to War. They immediately sent thirty *Indians* loaded with roasted Fish, Hens, several Sorts of Fruit, and Bread made of *Indian* Wheat. Then laying some Mats on the Ground, they plac'd a Present on them, being a great very handsome Mask of Wood, and several Sorts of Feather Work, very beautiful, and an *Indian* said, Their Lord would go the next Day to see the *Spaniards*. *Grijalva* gave him Strings of Beads of several Colours and Fashions, Scissors, and Knives, a Cap of red Frize, and a Pair of Buskins, with which he went away very well pleas'd.

THE Cazique of *Tabasco* resolv'd to go in a Canoe to see the *Spaniards*, because all were amaz'd to behold their Beards, Arms, and Cloaths, and much more at the Ships, gazing almost beside themselves at the Rigging, Sails, Anchors, and all the rest. The Cazique took along with him many Men unarm'd, and without any Jealousy went aboard *John de Grijalva's* Ship, who

who was a genteel young Man about twenty-eight Years of Age, having on him at that Time a great loose Coat of Crimson Velvet, and a Cap of the same, with other rich Ornaments suitable to the Coat. The Cazique was receiv'd with much Honour and Courtesy, embracing him, then sitting down, they began their Discourse, of which both Parties understood very little, unless it were by Signs, and some Words the two *Indians Julian and Melchor* interpreted; but the Purport of all was believ'd to be that he joyc'd at his Coming, and would be his Friend. After some Time the Cazique order'd one that went with him, to take out of a *Petaca*, which is in the Nature of a Trunk, the Things he had carry'd. The *Indian* took out Plates of Gold, and some thin Boards cover'd with Gold for Armour, as fit as if they had been made for *John de Grijalva*, and the Cazique himself put them on upon him, and took them off, applying those that suited best, and in this Manner he put him on a compleat Suit of Gold Armour, as if it had been of Steel. He also presented him with many and various Works in Gold, and Feathers, a Thing much valu'd among them, and it was wonderful to see how beautiful *Grijalva* then look'd, who gave the Cazique all the Signs of Gratitude and Courtesy that could be thought of, for he was virtuous, and well-bred. He call'd for a very fine Shirt, and with his own Hands put it upon the Cazique, took off his great Coat of Crimson Velvet, and put that on him, as also a Pair of new red Shoes. In short he cloath'd and adorn'd him the best he could, gave him some of the best Strings of Beads, and other Glass Toys, Looking-Glasses, Scissors, Knives, and several Things of Tin, and so to all that were with the Cazique. What the Cazique gave to *Grijalva* was computed to be worth three thousand Pieces of Eight, and among the Rest there was a wooden Head-Piece, cover'd with thin Plates of Gold; three

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or four Masks, some of them cover'd with a Sort of Stones like Emeralds, plac'd in the Nature of *Mosaic* Work, very artificially, and Plates of Gold, and others all over with Gold; Breast-Plates, some all Gold, and others of Wood cover'd with Gold, and others with Stones very curiously set in them, which made them look very beautifully; several Coverings for Targets of fine Gold, some all Gold, and others of the Bark of Trees cover'd with Gold; six or seven Collars of beaten Gold, fastned on Thongs of Deer's-Skins well dress'd; some Gold Bracelets three Fingers broad, very handsome, Ear-Rings, Pendants, and other little Ornaments for the Ears well wrought; some Strings of Beads made of Clay cover'd with Gold, and others all Gold hollow; one Target cover'd with Feathers of several Colours very beautiful; a Garment all of Feathers, and fine Plumes, besides many other Things of wonderful curious Workmanship, the which alone would be any where very costly. The Caziue was extremely well pleas'd, and the *Spaniards* to such a Degree that many were extraordinary eager to settle in that Country, which produc'd Tokens of so much Wealth.

At this Time that great Man *Basco Núñez de Balboa* was brought to an untimely End, through the Malice of *Peter Arias*, which notwithstanding the above-mention'd seeming Reconciliation, broke out now more violent, seeing him advance successfully in his Designs upon the *South-Sea*, whereas all his own Undertakings and Projects had hitherto prov'd abortive, and mischievous. In short, when *Basco Núñez* was busy fitting out his Ships on the *South-Sea*, *Peter Arias* by Letter call'd him to *Darien*, he came immediately, confiding in his Innocence and many Services, and after some Formalities of a Tryal, had his Head struck off, for which inhuman Act *Peter Arias* was never call'd to any Account, but on the contrary, having Favour at Court,

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was continu'd in his Government. Being thus deliver'd from the Man he hated, he went away to *Panama*, and with much Difficulty planted a Colony there, the Men abhorring the Place by Reason of its unwholsome Situation, being excessive hot and moist, for which Reason during the first twenty-eight Years after the Conquest of *Pern*, above forty thousand Men were computed to have dy'd there of violent Distempers. Soon after *James de Albitez* founded another Town at *Nombre de Dios*, which was also famous for many Years, those two being the only noted Parts for the Trade between the *North* and *South-Seas*, and here as well as at *Panama* many thousands of *Spaniards* have perish'd by reason of the bad Air. In the Reign of King *Philip II.* to avoid the said Mortality, *Nombre de Dios* was quite abandon'd, and the Inhabitants remov'd to *Porto Belo*, where the Trade now continues. As soon as the said two Towns were founded, Order was taken for making a Road between them, that being the nearest Place between the two Seas, tho' the Mountains are very uncouth, on which there were then infinite Numbers of Lions, Tygers, and other wild Beasts, and such a Multitude of Monkeys, of several Sorts and Sizes, as deafned the Ears with their Cries, which running up the Trees, when any People pass'd by, were wont to throw Stones at them; but the *Spaniards* kept them in Awe with their Cross-Bows.

THO' something has been said already concerning the Provinces of *Castilla del Oro*, we shall here speak of the same more particularly. The first Province where the *Spaniards* began to make any Advantage, and found Entertainment and Friendship, was that of *Careta*, thirty Leagues from *Darien*, and five from that of *Acla*. Two Brothers reign'd in these Provinces, and had tedious Wars between themselves, through the Desire of Rule, the one striving to dispossess the other. They fought a Battle on the same Spot of Ground where

Acla was built, that Name signifying Men's Bones, abundance whereof were found when the *Spaniards* came thither, who met with no Opposition, because that Fight had been but a few Years before, and many Men were kill'd in it. These People were more civiliz'd than those of *Santa Marta*, or any other along that Coast. The Women were well clad, from the Breasts downwards, with wrought Cotton Cloths, which cover'd the Breasts, Arms, and Feet. The Men went naked, covering their Privities with Shells that Coast afforded, of several Colours, which they carry'd to exchange in other Parts, and ty'd about their Bodies, with a Sort of Twists, lying in them at Night, and wearing them in the Day without any Trouble, but they did not put their Genitals into them. They had handsome Beds made of Cotton. The Country is mountainous, like *Darien*, tho' more healthy, and Gold Mines were found in several Parts of it.

THE next Province to the Westward of *Acla*, is *Comagre*, where the open Country begins, and from thence forward it was well peopled, tho' the *Caziques* were mean Lords, their Power not extending above two Leagues, and the *Spaniards* call'd all that Country as far as the Province of *Pernuquete*, *Cueba*; and another Province near it they call'd *las Behetrias*, that is, the free Country, because there was no Lord in it. They all spoke the same Language, being clad after the Manner of *Acla*. Next to the Province of *Behetrias*, otherwise call'd *Purulata*, follow'd those of *Chiane* and *Coyba*, being about forty Leagues, and differ nothing from the Language of *Cueba* only in its being more courtly, and the People more conceited; but they did not wear the Shells above-mention'd, the Men being stark naked, and the Women like those of *Acla* and *Cueba*. In this Province was the Territory of *Pocerosa*, where the Town of *Santa Cruz* was built, and afterwards destroy'd, all the *Spaniards* being kill'd but five, who carry'd the

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News to *Darten*, and the *Spanish* Woman the Lord took to himself, and was very fond of her, whom the others murder'd out of Envy, some Years after, pretending that when she went to wash herself in the River, she was devour'd by an Alligator. There were no great Towns in these Provinces, only every prime Man had three or four Houses together, with his own People, each of them upon the Land were they sow'd. The Lords were always at War, about the Lands, Fisheries, and Borders. It was the Custom of this Province, that when one had kill'd an Enemy, or been himself wounded in Battle, the Lord gave him a House and Servants, and for an honourable Title call'd him *Cabra*. Justice was observ'd, according to the Law of Nature, without any Ceremony, or Religious Worship. The Lords decided all Controversies, and had no Officers but such as were employ'd to arrest, or summon. The Parties appear'd, were heard, and taking it for granted, that they spoke Truth, for he that ly'd dy'd for it, the Lord decided the Controversy, which put an End to it, without any farther Strife.

THE Tribute paid to these Lords was Personal Service, in Building their Houses, and tilling their Lands, and as a Favour they gave the Workmen Meat and Drink, and thus the Lords took nothing from their Subjects, and wanted nothing, but were serv'd, belo'd, and fear'd. The Gold they had came by Way of Barter, and they order'd their Subjects to take it out of the Mines. They had certain Rules for inflicting Death upon Thieves, Murderers, and Adulterers. There were no other Wrongs practis'd among them. When the prime Men marry'd, on the Wedding-Day all the Wife's Kindred met, and there was a great Entertainment; they deliver'd her to the Husband, and her Children inherited the Lordship; for the other Women they had, were not taken with this Ceremony, nor was the lawful Wife, on any Account to be jealous of, or

misuse them; but she commanded, and they were to serve and obey her, and they watch'd one another, under Pain of Death, and tho' their Sons were look'd upon as Bastards, they were maintain'd by those that were lawfully begotten, and inherited the Lordship. Sodomy was abhorr'd, for they very much despis'd any one that was guilty of it. There was a Sort of Men among them, whom in their Language they call'd Masters, each of these had a very little Cottage, without a Door, and open at the Top. The Master went into it at Night, pretended to talk with the Devil, forming several Voices, and then told the Lord what the Devil had discover'd, and answer'd to him. In these Provinces there were Witches, that did Harm to Children, and even to great People, at the Instigation of the Devil, who gave them Ointments made of certain Herbs, with which they daub'd themselves. He appear'd to them in the Shape of a beautiful Male-Child, to the End that those simple People might believe him, without being frighted. They never saw his Hands, on his Feet he had three Claws, like a Griffon, and he attended the Witches, when they went to do any Harm. The Adelantado *Pascual de Andagoya* affirm'd he had made Proof, that a Witch was one Night in a Town with other Women, and that at the same Time she was seen a League and a half from thence at a Farm, where there were some People belonging to her Lord.

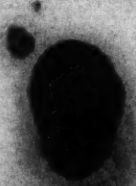
THEY said, that when the Universal Deluge happened, one Man escap'd in a Canoe, with his Wife and Children, and that from them the World had been peopled; as also that there was one Lord in Heaven, who sent the Rain, and caus'd all the Celestial Motions. That there was likewise a very beautiful Woman in Heaven, with a Child; but they went no farther, nor did they know any thing of their own Original, so barbarous were they in all Respects. They call'd

call'd the lawful Wives of their Lords *Espose*, which is something like Countesses, or Marchionesses. When the Lord dy'd, those Concubines that thought they lov'd him best, bury'd themselves alive with him, or consented to be killed; but many refus'd it; however, if he appointed them to dye with him, it must be so, whether they would or no. The dead Bodies had their best Armour put on, and being wrapp'd up in Cloths, were kept some Days, then the Heir, and other prime Persons hung them with strong Ropes before the Fire, where they were parch'd up, and the Grease that dropp'd from them was preserv'd in proper Vessels. Whilst this was doing, twelve of the prime Men sat about the Body, their Heads and Bodies cover'd with black Mantles, and every now and then beat a dull sounding Drum, which made a lamentable Noise, and when the beating was over, there began a Song in the Nature of a Response, and the others answer'd, which held a long Time. At two of the Clock in the Morning, all the House watching, they gave a great Shriek, and then fell again into their usual Silence. Some short Time after the Mourners, and Drummer beat again like the toling of a Bell, and all the other Folks in the House drank, and rejoyc'd, except the twelve who never stirr'd from the dead Body either by Day or Night; and if any one of them went out upon some necessary Occasion, his Head, Face, and whole Body were cover'd. *Pascual de Andagaya* was at one of these Burials, being that of the Lord of *Pocorosa*, in the Province of *Cueba*, and ask'd what was the meaning of those that were like Responses, and was told, that they sung the History of that Lord's Actions. They kept the Anniversary, carrying before the Body the sort of Meat he us'd to eat, the Arms he was wont to fight with, and the Figure of a Canoe, in Token that he had gone in them. They carry'd the Body to the Market Place, where they
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burnt it, believing that the Smoke went to the Place where the dead Man's Soul was; and being ask'd, where they thought it was, they said in Heaven. None but great Men kept these Anniversaries, because there was a great Expence in eating, and drinking. Religious Worship they had none, but look'd upon Theft, Murder, and Adultery as Sins, and hated lying. These People were Warlike, fighting with Darts, and great wooden Swords; and when they had no Wars, they very much follow'd hunting of Deer, and those Swine that have their Navel on the Back. The Lords had their Parks, where they went a Hunting in Summer; they set Fire to the Windward, and the Grass being very high, the Game blinded with the Smoke, ran to the Places where the *Indians* stood, who with their Darts kill'd the Deer, Swine, and other Beasts. They also had their Game of killing Pheasants, Turkeys, and Turtles; and because the Lyons and Tygers did much Harm, they kept their Houses enclos'd, and shut. There were great Fisheries of good Fish in the Rivers, in which are those fierce Creatures that we call Alligators, and though very unweildy on Land, one of them has been known to defend himself against thirty Men, and to get into the Water before they could kill him, by reason of the Hardness of his Scales, and though it receive half a dozen Musket Balls on the Body, it does not dye, but any Blow on the Temples presently kills it, a Secret the *Spaniards* knew not in a long Time. The Trees keep their Leaves all the Year, with little Fruit, which is the Sustainance of three, or four Sorts of Cats. There are also some of those Creatures that get into the Houses in the Night, to eat the Poultry, having a Pouch on one Side of the Body, into which they put their Young, carrying them always about whilst they are little, and though they run, or leap, they cannot fall, nor be seen.

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WHEN the Colony at *Panama* was settled, the Licensiate *Espinosa* going out upon Discovery, came into the Province of *Burica*, on the Coast of *Nicaragua*, and return'd from thence by Land to the Province of *Huyfia*, in which and in the Island of *Burica*, the People had the same sort of Apparel, and were almost alike in Customs. The Women wore a sort of Apron to cover them. The Men always went naked; they catch'd their Country Swine, which were very numerous, in large strong Nets, made of a sort of Herb they call'd *Nequen*, the Masches of them being as thick as a Finger. They set them up at the Passages out of the Woods, and then drove the Herds of Swine till they fell into the Net, and when they had thrust in their Heads, the Body not being able to pass, the Net fell upon them, and they kill'd them with their Spears, so that not one escap'd. In the Way from this Province to *Panama*, they came out of this into another that was Mountainous, call'd *Tobre*, and *Trota*, where there were great Woods of Oaks, bearing large Acorns. Four Lords, who spoke several Languages reign'd there, having their Towns fenc'd with Ditches, and Palisades, interwoven with prickly Thistles, making a very strong Enclosure. From thence the Way led to the Province of *Nata*, where the Spanish Town was afterwards built, which was call'd *Santiago*, thirty Leagues from *Panama*. This Lord was always at War with another, whose Name was *Escoria*, eight Leagues from *Nata*, where the first Time they saw the Spaniards, they thought them to be Men dropp'd down from Heaven, and never durst engage them till they knew them to be Mortal. In *Escoria's* Lands there were great Salt-pits, where the Salt was made of the Water that comes from the Sea with the spring Tides, and hardens with the Sun. Eight Leagues further towards *Panama* was another Cazique, call'd *Chiru*, of another Language; and seven Leagues farther again toward

towards *Panama* was the Lord of *Chame*, being the end of the Language of *Coyba*; and the Province of *Paris* was twelve Leagues from *Nata*, West.

THE Lord of *Paris*'s Name was *Curatira*, a Man brave in War, and had subdu'd the Provinces of *Quema*, *Chica*, *Cotra*, *Sagana* and *Guarare*. He was always at War with the People of *Escoria*, and they fought eight Days successively, without forbearing any one of those Days. In *Escoria* there was a Race of Men of a larger Size than the rest, who valu'd themselves upon being Gentlemen, and daring; their Breasts and Arms were wrought, and very few of them surviv'd the Battle of *Paris*. *Pasqual de Andagoya* affirmed, he had seen some of them so large, that the other Men look'd like Dwarfs to them; and that they had good Faces, and were well shap'd, who told, that being at that great Fight in the Country of *Paris*, fresh Men still coming in, the Action had been the more easily supported; and that when all their Weapons were spent, they came to engage Hand to Hand, biting one another; but that the same want of Weapons parted them, and that so many dy'd by the Way, in their return to *Escoria*, that they dug Pits to throw them into. The *Spaniards* at the Place where the Battle was fought, saw a Way pav'd with dead Mens Skulls, and at the End of it a Tower of Skulls, so high that a Man a Horseback could not be seen on the other Side of it. The People of *Escoria* and *Nata* spoke different Languages, and made use of Interpreters. In the Land of *Escoria*, there are abundance of Red and Fallow Deer. The *Indians* that follow'd the Wars did not use to eat Flesh, but Fish, and only the labouring People fed on it. They were cloath'd as in *Coyba*, only those of *Paris* had gayer Colours in their Cloaths. They knew no more of God than the others above spoken of, and their Eatables were the same.

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Two Years before the *Spaniards* came into the Province of *Paris*, a great Army had been there, which came from about *Nicaragua*, being a fierce, and war-like People, for which Reason all those Provinces receiv'd them in peaceable Manner, giving them whatsoever they would have. They were Man-eaters, which struck a great Terror into all Parts where they came. They encamp'd in a Province bordering on that of *Paris*, called *Tabraba*, in a Plain, whence they carry'd them, from all the Towns round about, Boys to eat, and such other Provisions as they demanded. A violent Distemper of the Flux fell among them, by which they were obliged to break up their Camp, and return to the Sea Coast, the same way they came. *Custaura*, the Lord of *Paris*, finding they were sick, and kept no Guard, fell upon them one Morning at Break of Day, kill'd every Man, and took all the Booty, among which was a considerable quantity of Gold.

ABOUT this Time *Ferdinand de Magelthaens*, by us commonly call'd *Magellan*, famous for discovering the Streight of his Name, being by Birth a *Portuguese*, but ill us'd at Home, came into *Spain*, and offer'd his Service to the young King, which is now taken Notice of, because we shall have much occasion to speak of him hereafter. The *Jeronimite* Friars, who as was said before had been sent to govern the *Indians*, were now also recall'd, their Behaviour being too upright for those covetous People.

The End of the First Book.

VOL. II.

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THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

DECAD. II. BOOK II.

C H A P. I.

The Dominican and Franciscan Friars found Monasteries on the Pearl Coast; Orders for good Usage of the Indians; Discoveries on the Coast of New Spain; Cortes appointed to command a Fleet for that Country; his first Actions.



At this Time the King's Orders arriving in Hispaniola for furnishing the Dominican and Franciscan Friars with all Necessaries, several of them went over to the Pearl Coast, where they made such Houses as their Circumstances would afford, and employ'd themselves in Preaching, and instructing

instructing the *Indians* in the Faith; having offer'd so to do, that the *Indians* might be protected against such *Spaniards* as us'd to resort to those Parts. And, in regard, that as was said before, some had brought away a Cazi-que and his Family from thence, and sold them as Slaves, the *Jeronimite* Friars were charg'd to cause strict Search to be made for them, that they might be return'd to their own Country. In the mean Time several Persons in *Hispaniola*, who, for their own Interest were for enslaving the *Indians*, sent their Deputies into *Spain*, to represent those poor People, as if they had been irrational Creatures, however, the King directed the Licentiate *Roderick de Figueroa* to draw the *Indians* into Towns of their own, where they should live at Liberty, only paying a certain Tribute, and attending the Divine Service, and the Instructions of the Priests and Religious Men appointed for that Service. Many more Directions were given him for the Ease of those People, and for the Encouragement of such as treated them well, and took care of the Improvement of the Island.

LET us now come again to *John de Grijalva* at *Tucatan*. He having receiv'd the great Present before spoken of at *Tabasco*, and being sensible that the *Indians* were not willing that their Guests should stay too long, and in regard that some of the *Spaniards* asking for more Gold, the *Indians* answer'd *Culua*, *Culua*, he proceeded farther, and in two Days came to a Town, call'd *Aonaluco*, which the *Spaniards* nam'd *la Rambla*, the Inhabitants whereof mov'd along the Shore, braving them, their Targets being of Tortoise-Shells, which glitter'd very much in the Sun, and made some of the *Spaniards* fancy that they were of pale Gold. Farther on they discover'd a Bay, into which the River *Tonala* falls, where they enter'd at their Return, and call'd it *St. Antony's River*. At a Distance again they saw the great River *Guaacatoles*, but could not go up it be-

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cause of the foul Weather. Next they had a Sight of the snowy Islands of *New-Spain*, and *St. Martin*, which Name was given them, because the first Soldier's Name that descri'd them was *St. Martin*. Holding on their Course, Captain *Peter de Alvarado* went a-head with his Ship, and enter'd a River the *Indians* call *Papaloava*, but the *Spaniards* gave it the Name of *Alvarado's* River, where the *Indians* of the Town of *Tavotulpale* gave Fish, and the other Ships stay'd till he came out again. He having gone in without Leave, *John de Grijalva* was angry, and commanded him for the future not to quit the Company of the other Ships, because he might get into some Place where he could not be reliev'd. They then advanc'd to the Mouth of another River, which they call'd *de Banderas*, or of Colours, because many *Indians* appear'd on it having large white Cloths on long Poles like Colours, which they wav'd for the *Spaniards* to come to them.

KING *Motexuma* being so great a Prince, had immediately Notice of what had hapned to *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, at *Cotoche* and *Potonchan*, and that *Grijalva* was upon that Coast, all which was sent to him painted on Cotton Cloths, and for as much as these Things were quite new, and never before heard of in those Parts; being agreeable to what their Prophecies had foretold, of which more shall be said in the proper Place, and being inform'd, that the *Spaniards* chiefly sought after Gold, in Exchange for Commodities, some of which had also been shew'd to him, he order'd his Governours to barter with them, and to endeavour to learn what it was they aim'd at and sought after. The *Spaniards*, as was said above, seeing themselves invited by the Signals of the Colours, *Grijalva* order'd two Boats to go ashore, and in them Captain *Francis de Montejo*, with all the Musketeers and Cross-Bow-Men, besides twenty other Soldiers, with Directions, that in case those *Indians* appear'd in a warlike Posture he should
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immediately give Notice of it, that Supplies might be sent him. As soon as he came to Land, they by Signs offer'd him Fowls, Bread, and Fruit, the *Indian Julian* not understanding that Language, which was the *Mexican*, and they perfum'd the *Spaniards*, burning *Copal* in little Fire-Pans. *Momejo* sent Advice hereof to *Grijalva*, who thereupon came up closer with the Ships, and landed, when one of the King of *Mexico's* Governours, and the other great Men, paid him much Respect, after their Manner, he having given them some Glafs Beads, and Necklaces of several Colours. The Governour order'd the *Indians* to bring Gold to barter, and in six Days they stay'd there, they got the Value of fifteen thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold Trinkets of several Shapes. This is what *Gomara* says, that in the River of *Tabasco* they gave *John de Grijalva* much Gold, whereas it is certain that there is no Gold in the River, or all the Neighbourhood of *Tabasco*, and that what the *Indians* had was brought from abroad, by Order of their Superiors.

John de Grijalva having contented the Caziques with several Presents of such Things as he had, and taken Possession of the new Country for the King, and *James Velasquez* in his Majesty's Name, embark'd again, because the North Wind blew there upon the Land, and he was not safe. Finding an Island near the Continent, he call'd it *Isla blanca*, or White Island, because the Sand was whitish; and not very far from thence another appear'd four Leagues from the Coast, which by Reason of its being well wooded, they call'd *la Verde*, or the Green. Farther on they spy'd another, a League and a Half from Land, and there being a good anchoring Place opposite to it, *Grijalva* order'd the Ships to anchor there. He went to the Island with the Boats, because there were Smoaks, and found two Houses well built, with Lime and Stone, having many Steps that led up to Altars, on which there were Idols

Idols, and they perceiv'd, that five Men had been sacrific'd there that Night, their Breasts being ripp'd open, their Legs and Thighs cut off, and the Walls all bloody, which much astonish'd the Christians, and therefore they nam'd this the Island of *Sacrifices*. They landed again opposite to the Island, where they made themselves Huts of Boughs, and the Sails of the Ships, whether some resorted to barter Gold in small Figures; but the Gold being inconsiderable, and the *Indians* fearful, the *Spaniards* remov'd opposite to another little Island, about half a League from the Main. They landed on a Strand, built Barracks on the highest Part of those Sands, to avoid the Plague of the Mosquitos, or Gnats, and having founded the Harbour, found there was sufficient Water, and that the little Island shelter'd them from the North Wind. *Grijalva* went over to the Island with thirty Soldiers in two Boats, where he found a Temple, with Idols, and four Men who wore very long black Mantles with Hoods to them, like Canons, being the Priests of that Temple, and that very Day had sacrific'd two Boys, whom they found ripp'd open, and their Hearts taken out, a Piece of Cruelty which mov'd the *Spaniards* to Compassion. *Grijalva* ask'd an *Indian* he had carry'd from the River *de Banderas*, who seem'd a good rational Man, what that was for, who answer'd, that the People of *Ulva* would have it so, as they understood, but he in Reality said, those of *Culva*. The Name of the *Spanish* Commander in Chief being *John*, and the Time of the Year about the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, he gave that Name to the Island, and accordingly it has always been call'd *St. John de Ulva*, to distinguish it from *St. John de Puerto Rico*.

Grijalva stay'd there seven Days bartering for some small Quantity of Gold, the Men being quite tir'd with the Importunity of the Gnats, having certain Knowledge that the Land they had been on was the

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Continent, and that there were great Towns on it; confirming the Name given it of *New Spain*; the *Cazabi* Bread they had aboard the Ships growing mouldy and bitter; and the Men he had being too few to settle a Colony, because ten had dy'd of their Wounds, and others were Sick, it was thought fit to give an Account of all Things to the Governour *James Velasquez*, since he had order'd not to make any Settlement, that he might send a greater Number, if he then thought it fit to be done; for *John de Grijalva* notwithstanding all the *aforsaid* Reasons to the contrary, was always of the Opinion to build a Town; though *Gomara*, being misinform'd of what hapned this Voyage, asserts the contrary. *Peter de Alvarado* was made Choice of to carry this Message to *James Velasquez*, in the Ship *St. Sebastian*, and to take with him all the Gold, and other Things that had been traded for, and all the Sick. *James Velasquez*, after the Departure of *Grijalva* from *Cuba*, had been in much Care for his Ships, as sailing on unknown Seas, and near new Lands, and therefore sent *Christopher de Olid*, a Commander of Note, in a Ship with seven Soldiers, to get Intelligence. He being at Anchor, on the Coast of *Yucatan*, there arose such a Storm as oblig'd him to cut his Cables, and run back to *Santiago* in *Cuba*, whence he had set out, and at the same time arriv'd *Peter de Alvarado*, with the Gold, Cotton Cloths, and a Relation of what had been done, and discover'd, which was agreeable to *James Velasquez*, who conceiv'd great Hopes of that Enterprize, and the Fame was spread abroad to the great Astonishment of all Men. *Velasquez*, as the Bishop of *Chiapa*, who was very familiar with him, informs us, being a severe Man to those that serv'd him, and easily provok'd against such as were ill represented to him, being over credulous, and *Peter de Alvarado* having been one of those that were for settling a Colony, and representing

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presenting the Affair to him, as he thought fit, let fall very passionate Expressions against *Grijalva*, nor remembring the Instructions he had given him, and that he ought to treat that Man civilly, who was himself extraordinary modest, and had been very obedient to him; and hereupon he resolv'd to fit out another Fleet, and appoint another Commander before he arriv'd. At length after having seriously consider'd it, he pitch'd upon the Man that gave him cause to repent, and made his Life uneasy.

WHEN *Peter de Alvarado* was gone for *Cuba*, *Grijalva* by the Advice of the Captains, and Pilots, continu'd his Discovery, and coasting along, had Sight of the Mountains of *Tustla*, so call'd from the Town near by them, and others higher than they, for the same Reason call'd *Tuspa*. Farther on, in the Province of *Panuco*, they saw Towns, and a River which they call'd *De Cancas*. As they lay at Anchor in the Mouth of it, the *Spaniards* not being upon their Guard, ten Canoes full of arm'd Men appear'd, the which drawing near to the least Ship, commanded by *Alonso de Avila*, pour'd in a Flight of Arrows, which wounded five Soldiers, laid hold of the Cables, and cut one, intending to carry off the Ship, and though the Men in it behav'd themselves well, and overset two of the Canoes, yet they stood in need of the Assistance of the Fire Arms and Cross-Bows from the other Ships, for most of the *Indians* being wounded by them, desisted from their Enterprize, and went off. The *Spaniards* sail'd away along the Coast, till they came to a very large Cape, or Point of Land, which being very difficult to double, and the Currents extraordinary strong, the Pilot *Alaminos* gave *Grijalva* many Reasons, to show that it was not convenient to proceed any farther that way. The Captains, Pilots, and prime Men consulted together, what should be done. Those that had been before for settling a Colony, were for

turning

turning back to find a proper Place for it; and as *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, a Soldier of Note, who was also present, affirms, *John de Grijalva* was of the same Opinion, and for Building a Town. The Captains *Francis de Montejo*, and *Alonso de Avila*, who differ'd in Judgment, alledg'd that Winter was drawing on, and Provisions grew scarce, for which Reason, and because one of the Ships was leaky, it was proper to return to *Cuba*; besides that they were not able to maintain their Ground, because the Natives were very numerous and warlike, and the *Spaniards* much fatigu'd with being so long at Sea. *John de Grijalva* considering that his Instructions were positive not to settle, as the Bishop of *Chiapa* affirms, and that his Commanders oppos'd it, urging sufficient Reasons, thought fit to comply, and standing about, they arriv'd at the great River of *Guazacoalco*, but could not enter it, the Weather not favouring. They proceeded to that of *Tonala*, which they call'd of St. *Antony*, where they careen'd the leaky Ship. In the mean time, many *Indians* came from the Town of *Tonala*, which was a League off, with Hens, Bread, and other Eatables; which they readily parted with, being requited with *Spanish* Toys; and the News being spread abroad, others came from *Guazacoalco*, and the rest of the neighbouring Towns, bringing Provisions, some small Gold Plates, and Copper Axes, very bright, with the Helves of them painted. The *Spaniards* thinking those Axes had been of pale Gold, purchas'd six hundred of them, and the *Indians* would have willingly parted with many more. A Soldier, whose Name was *Bartholomew Pardo*, went into a Temple, that stood in the Fields, whence he took that Perfume, which the *Indians* call Copal, and has been before said to be the same which we call Gum Anime; he also took the Knives made of Flints, with which they sacrific'd Men, ripping open their Breasts, and some Idols, all which he deliver'd to the Commander

mander in Chief, having first taken off from them some Ear-Rings, Pendants, Plates, and Crowns of Gold, worth about ninety Pieces of Eight; but not being able to conceal his Joy for this Booty, *Grijalva* had Notice of it, who order'd all to be taken from him, yet being of a generous Temper, left them to him, only upon paying the fifth to the King. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* tells us, that to avoid the Plague of the Mosquitos, or Gnats, he went to certain Places of Worship, and that the Report having run at their Coming from *Cuba*, that they were to settle, he among other Things took with him some Orange Seeds, which he sow'd in that Place, and they grew up, and some Years after there were very good Orange Trees, being the first that ever grew in *New Spain*. The Ship being refitted, in forty-five Days they arriv'd at *Cuba*, with four thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, besides what *Alvarado* had carry'd, and the Copper Axes, which when taken out to pay the fifth, thinking them to have been Gold, they found rusty, to the Confusion of the Purchasers. They put into the Port of *Matanzas*, where they found a Letter from the Governour, ordering *Grijalva* to make Haste to the Port of *Santiago*, and to tell the Men, that another Fleet was fitting out to return thither to make a Settlement, and that those who intended to go back should take up in some Farms he had thereabouts. *Grijalva* made haste to *Santiago*, where the said Fleet was making ready, and when he appear'd before *James Velasquez*, had no thanks for the Trouble he had been at, but was reprov'd for not having settled, tho' it was pursuant to his own Instructions.

James Velasquez being fully inform'd of all that had been found upon *Grijalva's* Discovery, had fitted out ten Ships, and that his Expedition might be the better grounded, he sent *John de Salcedo* to the *Feronimie* Friars in *Hispaniola*, for their Leave, and his Chaplain

Benedict

Benedict Martin into *Spain*, with Samples of the Gold, and other Things, for the King to grant him his Authority, and some Title, in Consideration of his many Services. He expended twenty thousand Ducats on his Fleet, and would have conferr'd the Command of it on *Baltasar Bermudez*, who being a haughty Man, propos'd such unreasonable Terms, that *Velasquez* sent him away with some hard Words. Then considering on whom to bestow that Command, he remain'd some Time irresolute, but at length *Amador de Laves*, who tho' he could neither write nor read, was the King's Controller in the Island, and supply'd that Defect by his wonderful Sagacity and Cunning, perswaded him to give the Command to *Ferdinand Cortes*. He being of a lofty Mind, and at the same Time of a pleasant Disposition, besides that he was then Alcalde, found Means to ingratiate himself with the Men that were drawing together, both for the Land, and Sea Service, being all Volunteers, as flattering themselves with the Hopes of much Wealth. *Cortes* being then worth two thousand Pieces of Eight, made his Money fly, and dispos'd his Affairs for so great an Enterprize. I have thought fit in this Place to take Notice, that *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, who enter'd himself Chaplain to *Cortes* the last Time that he came into *Spain*, does not give an Account of what hapned in Relation to this Affair with such Impartiality as he ought. But before we proceed any farther in this Affair, it will be fit to leave *Cortes* preparing for his Enterprize, to take Notice of what hapned in the mean time.

THE Fame of the Discovery and Wealth of *Yucatan* being spread abroad, *Francis de Garay*, who govern'd the Island of *Jamaica*, sent *James de Camargo* to make Discoveries, with one or two Ships, and he found the Province of *Panuco*, from whence *Grijalva* had return'd, to within one hundred Leagues of *Florida*, and assuming this Discovery to himself, he sent into *Spain* to beg

of the King to grant him that Government, offering to conquer and plant Colonies there at his own Cost. He desir'd the Title of Adelantado, and a certain Extent of Land, with full Jurisdiction, besides other Privileges, and the following Year 1519, the Grant was accordingly pass'd for him at *Barcelona*.

James Velasquez not satisfy'd with the Chaplain he had sent, as has been told into *Spain*, to sollicite his Business, now dispatch'd *Gonzalo de Guzman*, after him, who met with all the Success he could wish at the Court, the Bishop of *Burgos* being again President of the Council of the *Indies*, who, as some thought had a Design to marry his Niece to *James Velasquez*. By his Favour he obtain'd all he could demand, and particularly Licence to make Discoveries and Conquests, with the Title of Adelantado during his Life, the rest of the Privileges and Immunities do not make for our Purpose. At this same time *Cortés* was making the necessary Preparations for his Voyage, and it is to be observ'd, that there pass'd only five Days, from the 13th of *November* to the 18th of the same Month, between his being put into Possession of the Command, and his falling off from *James Velasquez*. But as this was the Introduction to one of the greatest Actions that ever was perform'd, it is fit that we be very particular in it. *Ferdinand Cortés* being appointed Commander in Chief, and pressing to be dispatch'd, *James Velasquez*, attended by him, and almost all the Town went every Day to the Harbour, which was near by, to see the Ships, and furnish them. One Day there went before them a Jester, whose Name was *Francisquillo*, or *Franky*, that was kept by *James Velasquez*, and on a sudden turning to him, said, Take heed what you do, lest we be forc'd to go a hunting after *Cortés*. *Velasquez* laugh'd heartily, and said to *Cortés*, who walk'd by his Side, as being Alcalde, Compare, for so he always call'd him, Mind what that Knave *Franky*

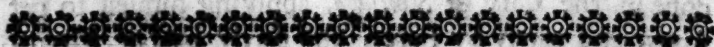
Franky says. *Cortes*, tho' he had heard it, pretending that he had not, answer'd, *What, Sir?* *Velasquez* repeated what the Buffoon had said, and *Cortes* reply'd, *Do not regard him, Sir, for he is a mad Knave*, and threatened the Fellow what he would do to him. All that were present laugh'd at what the Jester had said, but it stuck by the Friends and Relations of *James Velasquez*, who had not reflected on it before, and now seriously ask'd him, how he could be guilty of so great a Mistake as to trust *Cortes* in an Enterprize of such Consequence, wherein his Honour and his Fortune were so deeply concern'd; declaring, it was certain that *Cortes* would revok with the Fleet, being so subtle and crafty as he was; putting him in mind of what he had design'd, and all that they could think to his Disadvantage. *James Velasquez* taking these Things into Consideration, and concluding that all they said might probably come to pass, resolv'd to put him out of that Employment, and ease himself of that Care, and being wont to acquaint the King's Officers with all that concern'd the said Fleet, and particularly *Amador de Laves*, the Controller, he discover'd it to *Cortes*, who was so subtle, that he needed not any such Information, for he might be confirm'd of it by the Looks of *James Velasquez*. The first Night after he was told of it, when all were a-bed and hush'd, he awak'd his best Friends, telling them, they must go aboard immediately, and went away to the Shambles, with as many of them as he thought necessary; and tho' the Clerk of the Market oppos'd it, he secur'd all the Flesh there was, and order'd it to be carry'd aboard the Ships. Then taking off a gold Chain he had about his Neck, he gave it to the Clerk, and went aboard, without any Disturbance, where he found many Men embark'd, being all of them very eager to set out upon that Expedition. *James Velasquez* had Notice given him, that *Cortes* was going off, and aboard already. He got up and all the Town attended

attended him, as soon as it was Day, down to the Sea. Cortes seeing him, order'd a Boat to be mann'd, carrying some Falconets, Muskets, and Cross-Bows, and drew near to the Shore with those Persons in whom he most confided. *James Velasquez* said to him, *How now Compere, are you going away in that manner; that is an odd Way of taking your Leave of me.* Cortes answer'd, *Pray, Sir, excuse me, for Things of this Nature are to be put in Execution before they are thought of; consider what Commands you have for me.*

James Velasquez finding him so bold and resolute, knew not what Reply to make, and Cortes returning to the Ships, order'd to hoist Sail on the 18th of November, with above three hundred Soldiers, and very small Store of Provisions, because the Ships were not yet Laden. He sail'd to the Port of *Macaca*, where the King had some Lands, and in the Space of eight Days oblig'd the *Indians* to make above three hundred Loads of *Cazabi* Bread, every Load being half an hundred Weight, and sufficient to maintain one Man a Month; he also took up Swine, Fowls, and all Eatables he could find, saying, he borrow'd it, to pay the King. Thence he advanc'd along the Coast of *Cuba*, and spy'd a Ship belonging to the Island of *Jamaica*, laden with Swine, Bacon, and *Cazabi*, to be sold at *Cuba*, and though against his Will, carry'd away the Owner to the City of the *Trinity* on that Coast, above two hundred Leagues from the City and Port of *Santiago*, and was presently inform'd that another Ship laden with Provisions for the Men that were in the Mines of *Xaragua*, was passing by. He sent Captain *James de Ordaz* with a Caravel, to carry that Ship to Cape St. *Antony*, and stay there for him, by that means to remove him at a Distance, because he did not like him on Account of his being a Creature of *James Velasquez*. In the Town of the *Trinity* he caus'd his Standard to be set up before his Quarters,

ters, and his Enterprize to be proclaim'd, as had been done in the City of *Santiago*, applying himself to get Arms, and partly by Force, and partly by fair Means, he took Provisions and some Horses, pacifying the Owners with Notes he gave them to pay such certain Rates as they agreed on. There one hundred of *Grijalva's* Men embark'd, having waited for that Purpose. Here also went aboard the five Brothers *Alvarados*, *Peter*, *George*, *Gonzalo*, *Gomez*, and *John*, besides other Men of Note. *Cortes* sent Letters to the Town of *Sanctispiritus*, eighteen Leagues from thence, extolling his Enterprize, and inviting all Men to take Part in it, and the Fame of the great Matters that were to be expected being spread abroad, some resorted to him, and among' them *John Velasquez de Leon*, Kinsman to *James Velasquez*, *Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *John Sedeno*, *Gonzalo Lopez de Ximena*, and his Brother *John Lopez*. He also took aboard what *Indians* he could get for his Service, and proceeded to the Town of *St. Christopher*, which was then on the South Coast, but afterwards remov'd to the *Havana*, where he likewise took in all the Provisions he could get, paying for them as he had done for the rest.





C H A P. II.

Cortes makes his Escape from James Velasquez ; a great Plague of Pismires in Hispaniola ; Affairs of Darien ; F. Casas solicites in Spain for the Indians.

JAMES VELASQUEZ was much concern'd at the Behaviour of *Cortes*, yet believing him a Man of Honour, concluded he would not be guilty of any thing that was base ; and though he was sensible of *Amador de Lare's* Falsehood, he still wink'd at it ; but his Relations, and some others perswaded him to recal the Commission he had granted him, declaring that no good was to be expected from him. Hereupon he sent away two Expresses to *Francis Berdugo*, his Brother-in-Law, who was Alcalde of the *Trinity*, with Orders to him to stay the Fleet, for that he had taken that Command from *Cortes*, and at the same Time writ to others to be assisting to him. *Cortes* being inform'd hereof, spoke in private to all those he thought might be favourable to *James Velasquez*, advising them to acquaint *Berdugo*, that they had seen nothing in him which might be prejudicial to *Velasquez*, and that in Case he should persist in the Design of taking away his Command, he had so many Gentlemen and Soldiers at his Beck, that the same might occasion some Disorder, and perhaps the plundering of the Town, whereupon nothing was attempted in that Affair. One of the two Expresses that came with these Orders enter'd himself

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himself aboard the Fleet, and the other return'd with several Letters from *Cortes* to *Velasquez* and others. When the Messenger was gone, *Cortes* laid in all the Store of Arms that could be had, and then sail'd away with most of the Men for the *Havana*, sending *Peter de Alvarado*, with some others by Land, to pick up all the Soldiers he could find in the Farms along the Way, because *Alvarado* was courteous, and had a particular Knack at raising of Men. The Horses were also sent by Land, and *Escalante* his special Friend in a Ship Northward. They all arriv'd at the *Havana*, except only the Admiral's Ship, which was missing for several Days, because being the largest of all it had touch'd on the Shoals, and they were forc'd to unload it, that it might Float. At length *Cortes* arriv'd safe, and Landing set up his Standard, and made Proclamation for Lifting of Men, whereupon several Persons of Note resorted to him. Being inform'd of the Mutterings there had been during his Absence, he sent *James de Ordaz* with a Ship, to lade Cazabi and Bacon at an *Indian* Town, which was near Cape *Guaniguanico*, and to lie there, because he had been one of those that occasion'd the Uneasiness, and it was not fit to let him continue among the Men. At the *Havana*, *Cortes* again examin'd and increas'd his Stores, put all sorts of Weapons into Order, and there being plenty of Cotton, had Armour made of it quilted to defend his Men, against the Arrows, Stones, Darts, and other Weapons of the *Indians*. Here he began to Act like a General, appointing his Family, and in it a Steward, Chamberlain, Master of the Household, and other Officers, all of them Men of some Distinction. *James Velasquez* now also sent a proper Person to the *Havana*, with Letters to his Friends, and Officers, there to depose and secure *Cortes*, but to as little Effect as it had been at the *Trinity*, for he having Notice of it, so manag'd his Affairs, that this Messenger

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return'd as the other had done before, with Assurances that *Cortes* would serve the King under his Commission, and that there was no touching of him, without running the Hazard of having the Town plunder'd, and all the Inhabitants carry'd away aboard the Fleet. However *Cortes* fearing that Delays might in the End prove prejudicial to him, us'd all the Expedition he possibly could to get every Thing ready for his Departure, where we must now leave him, about the latter End of this Year 1518, to see what was done elsewhere.

WHILST these Things above were transacting, the *Jeronimite* Friars in *Hispaniola*, in Prosecution of their Design of drawing the *Indians* together, that they might be the better instructed in Christianity, and brought to a civiliz'd Way of living, had made thirty Towns, and caus'd much *Yuca* to be planted, furnishing the Churches with all Necessaries for the Divine Service ; but the Distemper of the Small Pox obstructed it, which swept away an infinite Number of *Indians*, for they being us'd to wash themselves often, when that Disease was upon them, plung'd themselves into the Rivers, which struck it in, and so they soon dy'd. Many said, that this Sickness was carry'd over from *Spain*, and that the Natives were infected with it by the *Spaniards* ; but others, who enquired into the Antiquities of the Country, affirm'd, that this Disease was natural to the *Indians*, throughout all the Islands, and Continent who were subject to it at certain Times ; for if it had been carry'd from *Spain*, it would have affected the *Spaniards*, which it never did, and it is well known that there are several Sorts of Distempers, some of which affect the *Spaniards*, and not the *Indians*, others the *Indians*, and not the *Spaniards*, and others that are peculiar to those that are born there of *Spanish* Race. A *Spaniard* born in the Province of *Charcas* in *Peru* was observ'd to dye in the Court

Court of Spain, of a Distemper that then rag'd in that Province.

THE *Jeronimite* Fathers did not only attend to the Ease of the *Indians*; but at the same Time perswaded the *Spaniards* to make Improvements, and accordingly they caus'd *Cassia Fistula* Trees to be planted, which succeeded as well as if the Island had been peculiarly made for them. One *Aguilon*, an Inhabitant of the great Plain, having in the Year 1506, carry'd over some Sugar Canes from the *Canaries*, and planted them, the same answering well, the Fathers order'd, that every Inhabitant, who would erect a Sugar Mill should have five hundred Pieces of Eight in Gold lent him, and by this Contrivance in a short Space there came to be forty either Water or Horse Sugar Mills in the Island. It is to be observ'd, that formerly Sugar grew only in *Valencia*, whence it was convey'd to *Granada*, thence to the *Canaries*, and lastly to the *Indies*, which made it more requisite to send over Blacks, and that put the *Portugueses* upon fetching many from *Guinea*. *Hispaniola* prov'd so natural to the Blacks, as to have it once said, that unless one hapned to be hang'd, none ever dy'd. Afterwards, when they came to be put to the Sugar Works, they destroy'd themselves with the filthy Liquors they made of those Molosses, and rather than Work, when they could, they fled into the Mountains by whole Gangs, revolted, and committed Murders, and other Outrages,

WHEN the *Spaniards* began to reap the Fruits of their Labours, and to conceive Hopes of their Improvements, God sent a Plague on the Islands of *Hispaniola* and *St. John de Puerto Rico*, being such an infinite Multitude of *Pismires*, that no human Means could be found to destroy them. In *Hispaniola* they prov'd most destructive to the Trees; but those of *Puerto Rico* stung the People, and the Bite of them was more painful than if they had been Wasps, nor

could they be safe against them in their Beds at Night, any other Way than by setting their four Bed-Posts into as many large Vessels full of Water. In *Hispaniola* they gnaw'd the Roots of the Trees, the which turn'd black and wither'd as if Fire had fallen upon them from Heaven, thus all the beautiful Orchards were destroy'd. They fell upon the great Orange Trees, of which there was an immense Number, and most delightful to behold, and left not one alive; the Cassia Fistula Trees going first, as being sweeter. The *Franciscan* Friars had in the great Vale a stately Orange Garden, of sweet and sour, lofty Pomegranate, and Cassia Fistula Trees, the latter producing Canes, very thick, and near four Spans in Length, all which perish'd immediately, and the same Fate attended all the Plantations in the Plain, there being such Plenty of those last Trees as might have supply'd all *Europe* and *Asia*, though they had eaten it like Bread; for that Plain is wonderful fertile, and extends eighty Leagues from Sea to Sea, being water'd with many Rivers, and most delicious. Some endeavour'd to put a Stop to this Evil, by digging round the Trees very deep, so to destroy the Pismires with Water, or Fire, and found above four Spans in Depth under Ground the Ants Eggs as white as Milk, and though some Days they burnt a Peck or two of them, the next Day they still found a greater Quantity. The *Franciscan* Friars of the Vale, plac'd a Lump of Mercury, weighing about three or four Pounds on the Rail of a Terras; all the Pismires about the House resorted to it, and as soon as ever they Bit it, fell down dead; and as if they had sent Messengers to invite those that were half a League off, the Roads were full of them, they went up to the Terras, and biting, dy'd immediately, so that all about it was as black as a Coal. This Slaughter lasted as long as the Mercury continu'd there, and those Religious Men observing,

observing, that it only serv'd to draw Vermin into their House, took what was left away, admiring two Things, the one the natural Instinct which drew those Insects from such a Distance to the Mercury; the other, that the Mercury being so hard, such a diminutive Creature could bite and diminish it, as they did that. In this Distress the People had Recourse to God, by Prayers, Processions, &c. and it pleas'd the Divine Goodness to give a Check to that Evil, by the Destruction of the Pismires. The Trees that were wither'd by their gnawing never recover'd, but others being planted soon bore Fruit.

THERE was an infinite Number of Swine in the Island, which being fed upon sweet Roots, the Flesh of them is most delicious, and all the Mountains swarm'd with them; but the Dogs destroy'd great Numbers, and not only of them but of Calves; yet at the coming in of the *Spaniards* there was no other four footed Creature there but the *Hutias*, before spoken of, nor was there any Thing venomous, or hurtful. Before the End of this Year 1518, the Licenciate *Figueroa*, arriv'd in *Hispaniola*, as Judge of the Island, the *Jeronimite* Friers return'd into *Spain*, and repair'd to *Barcelona*, where the King was, to give him an Account of the Affairs of the Island, but having waited long for an Audience without Effect, they went away to their respective Monasteries. On the Coast of *Cumana*, and the Vale of *Chiribichi*, the *Indians* were now protected by the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Friers, for fear of whom the *Spaniards* durst not attempt to take Slaves on that Coast.

Lope de Sosa, who was appointed to succeed *Peter Arias* in the Government of *Darien*, carrying three hundred Men with him, dy'd as soon as he came into that Harbour. All the Inhabitants of the Place, with *Peter Arias* at their Head, went out to receive his Body, which they interr'd in honourable manner. *Giles Gonzalez*

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Gonzalez de Avila was some Time before arriv'd at *Acla*, about sixty Leagues from *Darien*, with two hundred Men, at which *Peter Arias* was much offended, for that he had not apply'd to him, as Governour of all that Country, and therefore he endeavour'd to thwart him in all that he could.

Giles Gonzalez solicited *Peter Arias* to grant him the Ships that *Basco Nuñez de Balboa* had built in the *South-Sea*; but could not prevail, notwithstanding he had the King's Orders for it, whereupon he return'd from *Darien* to *Acla*, resolving to build other Ships, as *Basco Nuñez* had done before. It is here to be observ'd, that *Giles Gonzalez*, was appointed by the King of *Spain*, Commander in Chief of the Ships design'd to be fitted out on the *South-Sea*, to go upon the Discovery of the Spice Islands, which the Pilot *Andrew Niño* had undertaken to find out that Way, having artickled to that Purpose with the King, and being himself at half the Expence, for which he was to receive half the Profits that should accrue, after deducting the King's fifth, and a twentieth for the Redemption of Captives, and other charitable Works; besides many more Conditions not necessary to be here mention'd. *Giles Gonzalez* being return'd from *Darien* to *Acla*, as has been said, about the Beginning of the Year 1519, would not be dissuaded from carrying the Timber for his Ships over the Mountains, in which toilsome Work, he reduc'd the two hundred Men he had brought out of *Spain* to eighty. However he prevail'd, and having finish'd the Ships, sail'd over in them to the Pearl Islands; but within twenty-four Days after, when he was preparing to set out upon his intended Discovery, they all rotted, and were worm-eaten; a most deplorable Accident, that what had cost so many Lives, should so soon perish. *Gonzalez* being a Man of Courage and Discretion, was not dejected, but wanting Men to employ upon building of more Ships, writ to *Peter Arias* to assist him,

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him, who returning a disagreeable Answer, he went again himself to *Darien*, to demand Supplies pursuant to the King's positive Commands, and obtained a Number of *Indians*, and some *Spaniards*, with whom he return'd to the Pearl Islands, there to begin his Work again, which took him up much Time, as shall be said hereafter. *Peter Arias* being now continu'd in his Government, on occasion of the Death of *Lope de So-sa* above-mention'd, having obtain'd leave of the King so to do, destroy'd all the Town of *Darien*, and oblig'd all the Inhabitants to remove to *Panama*.

At this Time *F. Casas* was earnestly soliciting at the Court of *Spain*, to have labouring Men sent into the *Indies*, for tho' he had been disappointed in his first Levies of them, and his Partner *Berrio* had forsaken him, he was indefatigable in his Endeavours for the Ease of the *Indians*. He demanded, that they should be maintain'd the first Year by the King, till they could settle, and fall into a Way to get their own Livelihood; but the Bishop of *Burgos* rejected this, as he had done all his other Proposals, being wholly intent upon the temporal View of the Expence it would be to the Crown. *F. Casas* then brought on another Project, which was, that one thousand Leagues should be assign'd him along the Coast, to commence one hundred Leagues above the Coast of *Paria*, which he would undertake to bring into Subjection, without any Force, only by the Preaching of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Friars, in such Manner, that the King should receive from thence, by way of Tribute fifteen thousand Ducats the first three Years, and so advancing yearly till the tenth Year he should have sixty thousand, with many other Articles, which are here for Brevity Sake omitted. The King's *Flemish* Ministers to whom he apply'd himself, approv'd of his Proposals, and they were referr'd to the Council of the *Indies*, some of those Ministers being oblig'd to repair to the Frontiers
of

of *France*, to negotiate a Treaty of Peace. The Council being very dilatory, eight of the King's Preachers, *Dominicans* and Clergy-Men, whom *F. Casas* had entirely at his Devotion, enter'd one Day into the Council Chamber, where *F. Michael de Salamanca*, a *Dominican*, spoke for them all with much Freedom to the Intent of what *F. Casas* had propos'd. The Bishop of *Burgos* said it had been a great Presumption in them to come thither on that Errand from *F. Casas*; that the King's Preachers had nothing to do with those Affairs, which belong'd to the Councils, and that the King did not allow them Salaries to that Purpose, but to preach the Gospel to him. Doctor *de la Fuente*, one of the eight Preachers answer'd, That their Zeal was not for Houses, but for the House of God, in Defence of which they were ready to lay down their Lives; and therefore it ought not to be look'd upon as a Presumption, that eight Doctors of Divinity, who might preach before a general Council, should admonish the King's Council when they did amiss, since the Office of Preachers was much superior to that of the King's Counsellors, and therefore they were come to advise them that whatsoever had been done amiss in the *Indies* might be amended, and in case it were not done, they would preach against them, as Persons that did not keep the Law of God, nor act for the Service of the King, which would be fulfilling and preaching the Gospel. Don *Garcia de Padilla*, one of the Council reply'd, That many good Things had been done for the Advantage of the *Indians*, which should be shown to them, tho' they did not deserve it, to convince them of their Rashness and Pride. Doctor *de la Fuente* rejoyn'd, Let us see the Ordinances that have been made, and if they are just we will commend them, if not, we will curse them, and those that made them, and we do not believe your Lordships will desire to be of this last Number. The Ordinances were shown to the Preachers, who

who deliver'd in a Paper for Reformation of Abuses ; but nothing being done in it, F. *Casas* excepted against the whole Council of the *Indies*, and particularly the Bishop of *Burgos*, whereupon the King appointed some Persons of other Councils to examine into thar Controversy, who after some Delays, concluded that the Project above-mention'd, agreed to by the *Flemish* Ministers should take place, and the Dispatches to be drawn accordingly.

MANY Objections were started against F. *Casas*, the *Indians* being represented as scarce rational Creatures, and himself not a little revil'd ; but he easily refell'd all their Allegations, clearing himself, justifying the *Indians*, and plainly demonstrating how shamefully the King was impos'd on by his Governours, and other Officers, who not only conceal'd the Truth from him, but defrauded him of his Revenues, and made themselves great Estates. Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Bishop of *Darien* arriv'd at Court, whom F. *Casas* took the Liberry to reprimand for not having proceeded against *Peter Arias*, for his many Cruelties and Exorbitances. The Bishop justifying himself, a Dispute arose, which was then put an End to by the Bishop of *Badajoz*, who acquainting the King with what had hapned, his Majesty order'd that they should appear before him and argue the Case in his Presence. Accordingly on the Day appointed, the Bishop of *Darien*, after having urg'd, that he had some Things which were not fit to be declar'd in publick, being commanded to deliver himself fully before that Assembly, made a short Speech, wherein there was nothing that seem'd to require such Secresy, for he only spoke of what Wants they had suffer'd at *Darien*, said the first Governour had been bad, the second much worse, and then concluded, vilifying the *Indians*. F. *Casas* being order'd to speak next, did it much more to the Purpose, representing, that he had been one of the first that went

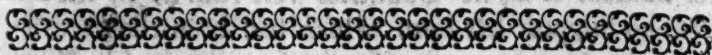
over to the *Indies*; that he had been an Eye-Witness of all the Mis-management there; that he had laid the same before King *Ferdinand*, King *Philip*, and the Governours of the Kingdom, which last had given good Orders for redressing of Grievances; that he was still labouring for that same End, tho' there were Ministers of the Enemy of all Good, that endeavour'd to oppose it; that what he did was not in Hopes of any Reward, nor even to serve his Majesty, whose most dutiful Subject he was, but for the Service of God, which would every Way redound to his Majesty's Advantage; that he then for ever renounc'd any Favour, or Advantage his Majesty should propose to bestow on him, and if either he or any for him accepted of any, that he might be look'd upon as one who endeavour'd to impose upon his Sovereign Lord; that the Natives of that New World were most capable of being brought to the Christian Faith, and to live politely, contrary to what the Bishop had declar'd, and that therefore it behov'd his Majesty at the Beginning of his Reign to set them right, and redress their Grievances. The *Franciscan* Frier being then order'd to speak, said, He had been some Years in *Hispaniola*, and commanded by his Superiors to count the *Indians*, which he did, and some Years after repeated the same by their Orders, when he found that many thousands had been destroy'd; if therefore the Blood of one Man unjustly slain cry'd to Heaven for Vengeance, what might be expected of the Blood of so many thousands; wherefore he begg'd of his Majesty for the Blood of *Jesus Christ* to put a Stop to that Evil, lest God should pour out his Wrath upon the Nation. The Admiral was then commanded to deliver what he had to offer, who declar'd, That what those Fathers had said was evident, and tho' the Loss accruing to his Majesty was inestimable, yet the Damage he sustain'd himself was more considerable, for as much as his Majesty would still be a great King and

Sovereign;

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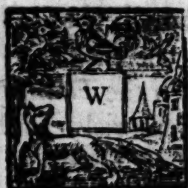
Sovereign, tho' all the *Indies* were entirely lost, but as for himself, if those Countries were ruin'd, he should have no Support left him, which had been the Occasion of his Coming to signify the same to the late King before, and then to his Majesty, of whom he begg'd to apply the proper Remedy to those Disorders. The Bishop of *Darien* then desir'd to be heard again, but was order'd, if he had any thing to offer, to deliver the same in Writing, and then the Assembly broke up.

THE Bishop accordingly drew up two Memorials, the one against *Peter Arias*, and the other containing a Form for curbing the Governours on the Continent, restraining the Insolency of the Soldiers, and doing Justice to the *Indians*, offering to name a Person that would perform all he propos'd, and expend fifteen thousand Ducats of his own in that Service, which was afterwards known to be *James Velasquez*, the then Governour of *Cuba*. The Bishop din'd with the *Flemish* Ministers, and deliver'd them those Memorials, and they asking how he lik'd the Proposals of *F. Casas*, he answer'd, he approv'd of them very well, which was very agreeable to them, for as much as they should be the better able to oppose the Bishop of *Burgos*, and all the Council of the *Indies*. The Bishop of *Darien* fell sick and dy'd a few Days after, and nothing was at that Time concluded as to the Affairs of the *Indies*, the King being then call'd away to take upon him the Imperial Crown, as he did soon after by the Name of *Charles V.* It will be therefore requisite to return to *Ferdinand Cortes*, whom we left in the Town of *St. Christopher*, in the Island of *Cuba*, since the Month of *February*, this same Year 1519.



C H A P. III.

Cortes sails from Cuba, and arrives at Cozumel, hears of and recovers Jerome de Aguilar, who gives an Account of himself; Magellan sails to discover a Passage to the Spice Islands.



WHEN Ferdinand Cortes had got all Things in Order, not thinking it proper to make any longer Stay in that Place, because it was said, that *James Velasquez* intended to come thither, he left the *Havana* with nine Ships, and proceeded to *Cape St. Antony*, where all the eleven Vessels joyn'd, and he muster'd the Men. There were five hundred and eight Soldiers, one hundred and ten Masters and Mariners, sixteen Horses and Mares, thirty-two Cross-Bow-Men, thirteen Musketeers, ten Pieces of Brass Cannon, and four Falconets, with sufficient Store of Powder and Ball. He appointed *Francis de Oroasco*, a Man of Valour, who had serv'd in *Italy*, Captain of the Artillery, and *Antony de Alaminos* Chief Pilor. He distributed the Men into eleven Companies, under the Captains *Alonso Hernandez*, *Puerto Carrero*, *Alonso de Avila*, *James de Ordas*, *Francis de Montejo*, *Francis de Morla*, *Francis de Saucedo*, *John de Escalante*, *John Velasquez de Leon*, *Christopher de Olid*, and *Peter de Alvarado*, reserving another for himself, and each Captain embark'd aboard a several Ship, to command both

both by Sea and Land. It was very remarkable, that notwithstanding the Apprehensions there were of *James Velasquez*, yet *Cortes* did not seem to mistrust any Man aboard the Fleet, tho' there were many of *Velasquez's* Friends and Relations. He had good Store of Provisions, and abundance of Pedlary Ware, being the Coin for trading with the *Indians*, who never had Money of any Metal whatsoever. The Admiral Ship was of one hundred Tuns, chosen by *James Velasquez*, who had expended twenty thousand Ducats on that Fleet. There were others of seventy Tuns, but the most of them were small, and without Decks. His Standard was of black Taffery, with a red Cross on it, amidst white and blue Flames, with this Motto, *Let us follow the Cross, and in that Sign we shall conquer.*

WHEN all was in a Readiness, calling together the Captains, and other prime Men, he told them, " It
" was certain that all brave Men aspir'd to equal the best
" of their own or of former Times, and therefore pur-
" suant to the same he foreboded, they should subdue
" greater Dominions than those their King was already
" possess'd of; that tho' he had run in Debt in order
" to make Provision for those Conquests, the less Share
" he had therein, the greater would be his Honour,
" because a brave and discreet Man, ought not to va-
" lue such Things as Wealth and Treasure, when he
" had great Actions in View; that not to mention
" how pleasing their Voyage would be to God, he
" hop'd it would prove the most advantageous to their
" King and Nation that had ever been perform'd, and
" therefore he desir'd them to take Notice, that he ra-
" ther aim'd at Honour than Profit, because that was
" the End all good Men should propose in their Acti-
" ons; that since they were going upon a just and re-
" nowned War, he trusted that God, in whose Name
" it was made, would be assisting to them; but that
" it was fit they should be inform'd, that the same
" was

“ was to be carry’d on after another Manner than had
 “ been done by *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, and
 “ *John de Grijalva*; that since the Weather was fit
 “ to Sail, he would not lose Time to discourse about
 “ it, only he desir’d them to conceive, that they were
 “ to go through great Hardships, though the greatest
 “ would be at first, for that Virtue always consisted
 “ in that which was most difficult; that if they
 “ would ground their Hopes upon Virtue, and not
 “ forsake him, he assur’d he would make them the
 “ richest of all Men that had come over into the *In-*
 “ *dies*; and that though he was sensible they were but
 “ a small Number, he confided in their Valour, that
 “ they would suffice against any Power of *Indi-*
 “ *ans*, and since they had found by Experience how
 “ much God had favour’d the *Spaniards* in those
 “ Parts, they should go on chearfully that the E-
 “ vent might be answerable to the Beginning.”

This Speech of *Cortes* rais’d great Alacrity among his
 Companions, who admir’d his Discretion, and were
 confirm’d in the Opinion conceiv’d of his great Capa-
 city, concluding that his Valour would secure their
 Success. On the other Hand he was highly pleas’d
 to find his Men in so good a Disposition, and from
 that Time began to issue out his Commands with Gra-
 vity and Modesty, so that he fully executed the Office
 of a Commander in Chief.

NOR was *Cortes* deficient in begging the Assistance
 of God, and having given the necessary Instructions
 for the Ships; and *St. Peter*, his chief Patron, for the
 Word, stood away to the Westward from Cape *St.*
Antony in *Cuba* for *Cotoche*, which is the next Point of
Tucatan, designing to keep along the Coast North
 West. The first Night as he was crossing between
Cuba and *Tucatan*, being about seventy Leagues di-
 stant, there came up a Storm at North East, which
 dispers’d all the Ships, every one driving as he could;

but

but following their sailing Orders they met again at the Island of *Cozumel*, which *John de Griajova* had nam'd *Santa Cruz*, or Holy Cross, only one being wanting. The Ship that suffer'd most was that under the Command of *Francis de Morla*, which slipp'd its Rudder, and being in Distress made a West. *Cortes* stood towards him, and lay by till Day, to give his Assistance; but the Sea falling, and the Rudder being seen, the Captain himself with a Rope about him, swam and took hold of it, so that it was fix'd again, and they held on their Voyage to *Cozumel*, where *Peter de Alvarado* was arriv'd some Time before, that having been the Place appointed to Rendezvous, in Case of being separated. As soon as *Alvarado* came to *Cozumel* he anchor'd, landed with some Men, found no *Indians* in the Town, went on to another, a League from it, which was also abandon'd, but they found Hens, some Garments, and little Boxes in which were Idols, with Crowns, Beads, and Pendants of pale Gold. They took two Men and a Woman, and return'd to the other Town, and soon after *Cortes* arriv'd with all the Ships but one, which was suppos'd to have perish'd in the Storm. He finding the Town abandon'd, and being inform'd that *Alvarado* had been about the Island, and what he had taken, reprov'd him, saying, That Countries were not to be subdu'd by taking their Goods from the People. Then using *Melchior* for his Interpreter, he bid the two *Indian* Men and the Woman, to go call their Lords, causing all that had been taken to be restor'd to them, and giving them fifty Hawks-bells, and two Shirts. Upon the Report of those *Indians*, the Lord of the Town return'd, with all his People, and they went about among the *Spaniards* with much Security, and in a familiar Manner, *Cortes* taking special Care that no Offence should be given them. He also spoke with another *Cazique*, who was said to be Lord of the Island,

Island, telling him what he design'd, whereupon the whole Island was again quieted, and the *Spaniards* were sufficiently supply'd with Provisions. The Horses being carry'd ashore were likewise refresh'd, there being Plenty of *Indian* Wheat. By much conversing with the *Indians*, they came to understand, that on the Continent, not far from thence, there were Men with Beards, who were Strangers. *Cortes* considering the want he had of Interpreters, because *Melchior* was dead, and he did not confide in *Julian*, nor was he capable of being so good an Interpreter as those *Spaniards* they told him were on the Continent, judging that they might be then well skill'd in the Language; he perswaded some *Indians* to carry a Letter for him, wherein he told them, that he would willingly have gone to set them at Liberty, but that the Coast being so dangerous, he could not do it with the whole Fleet, wherefore he intreated them to come away immediately to *Cozumel*, for he sent a Ship to that Effect, and Toys to give to the Lords they were with; adding, that the Ship would wait for them eight Days, and giving an Account of his Force, and Design. The *Indians* being unwilling to go upon that Errand, as apprehending some Danger, he prevail'd upon them by Gifts, and fair Words; and that the Letter might not be seen, as they were naked, it was hid under the Hair of one of them, which they wore long, platted, and wound about their Heads. He sent with them the two smallest of his Vessels, one of them being little bigger than a Brigantine, with twenty Cross-bow Men, and Musketeers, under the Command of *James de Ordaz*, ordering him to stay about the Coast of Cape *Cotoche* with the biggest of the two Vessels, and that the least should return to give an Account of what he had done, that Land not being above four Leagues from *Cozumel*.

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THE two Vessels came upon the Coast of *Yucatan*, and landed the *Indians*, they within two Days deliver'd the Letter to a *Spaniard*, whose Name was *Ferome de Aguilar*, who was pleas'd with it, and the Toys. Some say, those *Indians* for Fear deliver'd the Letter to *Aguilar's* Master, who seeing him read it, wonder'd that Persons at such a Distance should understand one another by that Method. *Aguilar* referring himself to his Master, as fearing he would cause him to be kill'd, if he attempted to go away privately, obtain'd Leave of him to go, desiring that he would make them his Friends, as coveting to be in Amity with such brave Men. The Lord sent some *Indians* with him, and when he came to the Coast, he perceiv'd they had waited thereabouts, finding several Crosses made of Canes. Being much griev'd for Want of some Conveniency to proceed any farther, and going along the Coast, he found a Canoe half sunk, which with the Help of his Companions he clear'd of the Sand, and tho' half rotten, got into it, rowing with a Pipe-Stave, he also found by Chance, and so went down the Coast, crossing in the narrowest Part over to the Island, being at least four Leagues, the strong Currents carrying him near to the Fleet.

James de Ordaz waited two Days above the Time appointed him, and no Body coming, return'd to *Cozumel*. *Cortes* reprov'd him, saying, If he had believ'd he might have done so, he would have sent a fitter Person. The Island of *Cozumel* being reputed a holy Place, to which they went in Pilgrimage from several Parts of the Continent, there were many considerable Temples in it. One in particular was obs'd much larger than the rest, in the Yard or Court whereof abundance of People assembled, burning several Sorts of Gums to offer up the Smoak by way of Devotion, and an old *Indian*, who was their High-Priest preach'd to them. When the Sermon was ended, *Cortes* said to

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the Priest, and prime Men, " That if they were to
 " be his Brethren, they must quit those Idols, who
 " were Devils, and deceiv'd them, and forbear offer-
 " ing Sacrifices of human Blood, which were abomi-
 " nable to the true God, to whom if they were con-
 " verted, they would escape the eternal Pains of Hell,
 " and enjoy all spiritual Blessings, besides good Crops,
 " and other temporal Advantages." They answer'd,
 that their Fore-fathers had ador'd those Idols, because
 they were good, and therefore they durst not forbear
 doing the same; and that if the *Spaniards* took them
 away, they would soon suffer for it, by perishing at
 Sea. *Cortes* to undeceive them, order'd all the Idols to
 be destroy'd, and an Altar to be erected, with a wood-
 en Cross, in the Presence of the Priests and Caziques,
 where Mass was said, the *Indians* attentively looking
 on with Admiration. After Mass, *Cortes* despairing of
 recovering *Jerome de Aguilar*, did not think fit to lose
 any more Time at *Cozumel*, and therefore having charg'd
 the *Indians* to keep the Altar very clean and decent,
 and taking leave of the Caziques, he embark'd, with
 fair Weather. They had not gone far before one of
 the Ships made a West, and fir'd a Gun, and perceiv-
 ing that *John de Escalante's* Ship, which had the Caza-
 bi aboard, was sinking, he order'd all to return to *Co-
 zumel*, as was done, and they unloaded the Ship, and
 found that the *Indians* had kept the Altar, where the
 Image of our Lady was, very clean, and adorn'd with
 Boughs.

WHILST the Ship was refitting, *Cortes* was told, that
 a Canoe appear'd, making from *Yucatan* towards the
 Island. He came out to view, and thinking it fell off
 a little, order'd *Andrew de Tapia*, to go as much under
 the Shelter of the Land as he could, and endeavour to
 take that Canoe, which made to the Shore behind a
 Point of Land. Four Men stark naked landed out of
 it, only their Privities cover'd, and their Hair in Ties,

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ses, wound about their Heads, with Bows and Arrows in their Hands. *Andrew de Tapia* had posted himself with his Boat so as to come upon the Canoe, and as soon as the *Indians* were landed, made towards them with Sword in Hand. Three were afraid, and would have return'd to the Canoe, but the fourth bid them not fear, and spoke to the *Spaniards*, saying, *Gentlemen, I am a Christian*, and with Tears in his Eyes, ask'd, whither that was *Wednesday*, because he had a Prayer Book he made use of every Day, and desir'd to know, whither he was right. He desir'd them to return Thanks to God, knelt down, lifted up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and bless'd God for having restor'd him to the Company of Christians. *Andrew de Tapia* embrac'd him, as did all the Rest, and then they went away to *Cortes*, who receiv'd him with much Joy, being attended by many of his Men. The new Comer, and his *Indian* Companions, paid the greatest Respect, and crouch'd down upon their Hams, laying their Bows and Arrows on the Ground at their Right-Hands; then having moisten'd their Right-Hands with Spittle, they touch'd the Ground, and stroak'd their Breasts next the Heart, that being the greatest Respect they paid to their Princes, to denote that they humbled themselves in their Presence to the Ground they trod on. *Cortes* being inform'd that this was the Form of Salutation, he again bid *Aguilar* welcome, and taking off a long yellow Robe, trimm'd with Crimson, he had then on, with his own Hands put it upon him, desiring he would rise off his Hams, and sit on a Chair, asking his Name. He answer'd, his Name was *Ferome de Aguilar*, and that he was born at *Ecija*, and related to the Licenciate *Mark de Aguilar*, whom *Cortes* knew. He also answer'd several other Questions, as that he could write and read, and knew exactly what Year, Month, and Day that was. Having Meat and Drink set before him, he took of both very moderately, and being

being ask'd, why he was so very sparing, answer'd, He did it, because having been so long us'd to the *Indian* Food, that Change of Diet might do him Harm, whereas taking very little, tho' it were Poison, there was no Danger. He was in Deacon's Orders, and for that Reason said, he never would marry, tho' he had been much importun'd to it by the *Indians*. The Account of his Life and Adventures being too long for that Time, *Cortes* bid him rest and take his Pleasure till the next Day, and order'd his Steward to cloath him, which he was not very fond of at that Time, because having been so long us'd to go naked, the Garment *Cortes* had thrown over him was somewhat troublesome. The next Day, *Cortes* asking him, before less Company, how he had fallen into the Hands of those *Indians*, he answer'd, That being at *Darien*, at the Time of the Contests between *James de Nicuesa* and *Basco Nuñez de Balboa*, he came away with *Valdibia*, who was bound for *Santo Domingo*, to inform the Admiral, and the King's Officers of what was doing in those Parts, to return with Men and Money, and carry twenty thousand Ducats for the King; that when they came near *Jamaica*, the Caravel was cast away on the Shoals call'd of *Caymanes*, or Alligators, at which Time, twenty Men, with much Difficulty got into the Long-Boat, without Sails, Bread, or Water, and very bad Oars. That seven of the twenty Men soon dy'd, being reduc'd to such Distress, that they drank their own Water; and the others landed in a Province call'd *Maya*, where they fell into the Hands of a cruel Caziq, who sacrific'd *Valdibia*, and four others, offering them up to his Idols, and then eating them, keeping a Festival, according to the Custom of the Country; that he and six more that were shut up in a Pen or Coop, to serve for another Festival, when they were fatter, resolv'd to lose their Lives some other Way, and breaking the Cage accordingly, fled over the Mountains, without
being

being seen, till it pleased God that they came into the Dominions of another Lord, who was an Enemy to him from whom they fled, and naturally courteous, affable, and inclin'd to do good. His Name was *Aquincuz*, Governour of *Xamancona*, who granted them their Lives, but made Slaves of them; that the said Lord soon dying, he serv'd *Taxmar*, who succeeded him in the Lordship; that his five Companions soon dy'd through the Hardships they endur'd, he only remaining, with one *Gonzalo Guerrero*, who was with the Cazique of *Chetemal*, and marry'd a prime Lady in that Country, by whom he had Children. He was then Commander for a Cazique call'd *Nachaneam*, and having obtain'd many Victories over his Lord's Enemies, much belov'd and esteem'd; he added, that he had sent him *Cortes's* Letter, and desir'd him to come away, since there was so favourable an Opportunity, and had stay'd for him longer than was convenient, and believ'd he kept away for Shame, because his Nose, Lips, and Ears were bor'd, his Face painted, and his Hands wrought, after the Manner of that Country, where only brave Men are permitted to have their Hands wrought.

PROCEEDING in the Account of his own Adventures, he said, he had endur'd very much during the first three Years, being oblig'd to carry Wood, Water, and Fish for his Lord, which he perform'd with much Satisfaction, to save his Life, doing what every *Indian* commanded him, by which Means he gain'd the Affections of them all. The Cazique observing that he liv'd chastely, tempted him several Ways, sending him out at Night a Fishing, with a beautiful *Indian* Girl of fourteen Years of Age, who had been instructed to provoke him, and he had a Hamack given him for them both to lye in. The Hamack being hung up, the young Girl went into it, and invited *Aguilar* to come and lye with her, upbraiding him upon his Refusal, that

that he was not a Man ; yet he lighted some Fire and lay down on the Ground by it. The Cazique being inform'd of this by her, had the more Value for him, and trusted him with his Wife and House, which shews that Virtue is honour'd even among barbarous Nations. Afterwards he desir'd his Lord to employ him in his Wars, and contributed to the obtaining of several Victories, which gain'd him so much Reputation, that he was look'd upon as the prime Man in the Country, and the Ships under the Command of *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, and those under *Grijalva* having traded on that Coast, they took special Care that he should not make his Escape. *Aguilar* was a discreet Person, and bred a Scholar, and we shall have Occasion to speak of him hereafter.

WHILST *Cortes* was employ'd as has been said above, *Ferdinand de Magallanes*, whom we call *Magellan*, and *Ruy Falero* had carry'd on their Negotiations in the Court of *Spain* so successfully, that the King made them Knights of the Order of *Santiago*, and gave them the Title of his Captains. At the same Time the *Portuguese* Embassador there solicited to have them banish'd that Court, and underhand endeavour'd to perswade them to return to *Portugal*, where they should be well receiv'd ; tho' some of that Nation advis'd to murder them, because what they propos'd was prejudicial to their Kingdom. The Purport of their Agreement was, that they would discover Islands, and a Continent in the Ocean, within the Limits assign'd to the Crown of *Spain*, abounding in Spice, and other rich Commodities ; and the King engag'd that no other Person should for ten Years to come sail the same Course that they did, without their Licence, but that he might send by Way of the *South-Sea*, or any other Rout Westward ; that they should have the twentieth Part of all the clear Profits, that should accrue from thence, and the Government of such Islands as they discover'd,

with

with the Title of *Adelantados*, to them and their Heirs for ever, under the Crown of *Spain*; that his Majesty would provide them five Ships, two of one hundred and thirty Tuns each, two of ninety, and the other of sixty, with all Necessaries for two Years, and two hundred and thirty-four Men, and that in case one of them two hapned to die, the other should succeed in all the Right to the Contract. Pursuant to this Agreement, Orders were sent to the *India House* at *Sevil* to furnish all that had been stipulated; and in regard that this was a new Voyage altogether unknown, the Pilots refus'd to engage in it, for which Reason it was ordain'd that they should be compell'd. When the Ships wereready, a Controversy arising between *Magellan* and *Ruy Falero* about who should carry the Royal Standard by Day, and the Light at Night, the King appointed; that since *Ruy Falero* was not in perfect Health, he should stay behind till another Voyage. At length *Magellan* sail'd aboard the Ship call'd the *Trinity*, tho' late in the Year, the King of *Portugal* having us'd all imaginable Endeavours to obstruct it; but the King of *Spain* assur'd him that nothing should be attempted, which might be prejudicial to the Rights of *Portugal*; however the *Portugueses* comforted themselves by saying, that all the Expence of those Ships would be thrown away, for as much as *Magellan* was a talkative Man, who had little in him, and consequently would make nothing of that Undertaking.

THE Fleet sail'd from *Sevil* on the 20th of *August* 1519, in Quest of the *Molucca Islands*; but the first Land they made was *Tenerife*, one of the *Candry Islands*, where they stay'd some Days, taking in Flesh, Water, Wood, and what else they had Occasion for. They proceeded to another Port in the same Island, call'd *Montaña Roja*, or Red Mountain, where they stay'd three Days, waiting for a Caravel, that carry'd Pitch for them; and sail'd again the 2d of *October* at Night,

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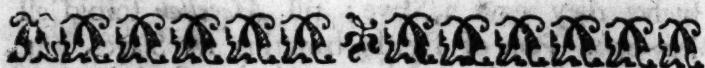
Night, under their Fore-Sails only, till they got clear of the Land, and so continu'd till Day, when they stood to the South-West till Noon, having run seventeen Leagues, and found themselves in twenty-seven Degrees Latitude.

THEY held on their Course South and by West, whereupon the Captains question'd *Magellan* for not steering South-West, as he had promis'd to do at *Sevil*; and he answer'd, That they should follow him, and ask no more Questions. They still contending that the Course they held would bring them in upon the Coast of *Guinea*, he reply'd, That it was their Duty to follow his Flag by Day, and his Light by Night, and no farther Account would he give them. Thus the Fleet sail'd on fifteen Days to the Coast of *Guinea*, where they were so becalm'd for twenty Days more, that they did not advance three Leagues; after which they had contrary Winds for a Month, with such dreadful Storms, that they were several Times upon the Point of cutting down their Masts, their Round Tops almost touching the Water. During those Tempests, the Seamen said they saw the Light on the Round Tops, which the *Spaniards* call *Santelmo*, and the Antients nam'd *Castor* and *Pollux*, being some Sort of Exhalation, which is accounted a good Presage. At this Time *Magellan* order'd the Men should be brought to a settled Allowance of half an Azumbre of Wine, three Quarters of Water, and a Pound and a half of Bread. [An Azumbre is about three Pints.] Proceeding on their Voyage, the 13th of *December*, they enter'd into a very large Bay, on the Coast of *Brazil*, which the *Portugueses* call'd *Rio de Janeiro*, and the *Spaniards* gave it the Name of *St. Lucy*, because they came into it on that Saint's Day. Abundance of the Natives immediately came in Canoes, bringing Plenty of Hens, *Indian* Wheat, Parrots, and other Sorts of Fowl, and Fruit, giving seven or eight Hens for

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for a King out of a Pack of Cards, and for an Ax or Hatchet they gave a Slave; till *Magellan* forbid all Men, upon Pain of Death, bartering for Slaves, but only for Eatables, because he would not afford the *Portugueses* any Occasion to complain that he had traded, nor admit of Slaves to eat up the Provisions.

WHILST they were in this River of *Janeiro*, on *Saturday* the 17th of *December*, at thirty Minutes after four in the Morning, being seven Hours and thirty Minutes before Noon, the Moon appear'd above the Eastern Horizon twenty-eight Degrees and thirty Minutes, and *Jupiter* above her, in thirty-three Degrees fifteen Minutes. Deducting the Altitude of the Moon from that of *Jupiter*, the Difference was four Degrees and forty-five Minutes. *Sunday* the 18th of *December*, having taken the Sun's Altitude, in the same River *Janeiro*, they found it in eighty-nine Degrees, and forty Minutes, whence deducting the Declination, they found themselves in twenty-three Degrees forty-five Minutes of South Latitude. They stay'd in this River till *Christmas-Eve*, when they fell down to the Mouth of it, and departed on *St. Stephen's Day*. On the Feast of *St. John*, being the 27th of *December*, they sail'd along the Coast till *Saturday* the 31st of *December*, when they found the Sun's Altitude eighty-six Degrees forty-five Minutes, and the Shade to the Northward, the Complement to ninety is three Degrees fifteen Minutes, to which adding twenty-two Degrees eight Minutes Declination, they found themselves in the Latitude of twenty-five Degrees twenty-three Minutes.



C H A P. IV.

Cortes defeats the Indians of Tabasco, then concludes Peace and Amity with them; what mov'd them to take up Arms; he celebrates Palm-Sunday.



WHILST *Magellan* was sailing, *Cortes*, whom we left at the Island of *Cozumel*, was highly pleas'd with *Ferome de Aguilar*, thinking that since he knew the Language of *Yucatan*, he would be able to treat with the *Indians*. He departed from that Island in Quest of the Ship that was missing, made over to the Continent, and order'd the smaller Vessels to keep as close to the Land as they could, in Hopes to find it, as they did in a Bay form'd by a Parcel of small Islands, which *Grijalva* call'd Port *Terminos*. The Ship was safe, and the Men all in Health, very joyful at the Sight of the Fleet, which they thought had perish'd. They had salted up abundance of Rabbits and Hares, taken by a Greyhound Birch they found there, having been left behind by *Grijalva's* Ships, and as soon as she saw that Vessel, began to make Motions of Joy, and when the *Spaniards* landed went to them. *Cortes* call'd that Port *el Escondido*, or the Hidden. They proceeded to *Grijalva's* River, at the Province or Town of *Tabasco*, where the *Cazique* had cloath'd *Grijalva* from Head to Foot in Gold. They anchor'd at the Mouth of the River, because the Entrance is very shallow, and the Sea

Sea Water contending with that of the River, renders it very dangerous. *Cortes* order'd all the greater Ships to stay there, and went up himself with the rest, and most of the Men well arm'd, and some Muskets. When the *Indians* saw so many Ships, and Men, and that they landed, they advanc'd from a large Town that was close by, arm'd with Bows, Arrows, and Targets, wearing great Plumes of Feathers, and painted, Tokens of Fierceness and Gaiety among them, to enquire, who they were, and what they wanted. Going up the River, before the Town, they observ'd that it was fortify'd with a wooden Enclosure, and Loop-Holes to shoot their Arrows through. The *Indians* went into Canoes, to obstruct their Landing. *Cortes* made Signs of Peace, and order'd *Ferome de Aguilar* to speak to them. The *Indians* by Tokens and Gestures forbid them going to their Town, or Landing. *Cortes* ask'd for Provisions and Water, and they show'd him the River, bidding him go up higher, where it was fresher. The *Indians* return'd to the Town, and brought *Cortes* some Canoes laden with *Indian* Wheat, Bread, Fruit, and Fowls, and whatever else they had. *Cortes* told them he had many Men, and that was not enough for them. They answer'd, he might stay till the next Day, and they would come again with more Provisions. *Cortes* withdrew to a small Island in the River to pass the Night, and each Party design'd to impose upon the other. The *Indians* fearing the Power of the *Spaniards*, and that they would endeavour to enter the Town by Force, spent all the Night in securing their Wives and Children, and providing for their Defence. Nor did *Cortes* sleep, but sent Men to seek out a Ford, which was found near at Hand, by reason it was the Summer Season, tho' the River is very large. He again order'd the Town to be view'd, and it appear'd that there was a Passage into it on the back Side, up a Brook, whereupon he immediately sent *Caprain*

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Alonso de Avila, to lye in Ambush near the Town, with one hundred and fifty Men, on that Side next the Brook, with Directions that when he gave him a Signal with a Gun, from the Vessels, he should attack the Town. He went himself with all the rest of the Men into the Boats, directing *Alonso de Mesa* to keep the Guns charg'd, and in a Readiness. A little before Break of Day, the *Indians* were on the Shore with more Provisions, bidding them take that for they had no more, because the Inhabitants of the Town had been alarm'd at the Sight of them, and were fled, and therefore they might depart the Country in God's Name, or in what Name they pleas'd. *Cortes* receiv'd what they brought courteously, and made many Signs of Peace, for he was not willing to come to Blows with them, because he was not yet acquainted with the Country, thought the Inhabitants very numerous, and that he could not easily land if they were once set against him. The *Indians* perceiving that the *Spaniards* did not depart, began to let fly their Arrows, yet *Cortes* bore all, and said he would go to the Town peaceably; the *Indians* answering, they would not permit him, and bidding him be gone. Then he thinking it high Time, order'd the Cannon to be fir'd for a Signal, and *Alonso de Avila* attack'd the Town. At the same Time the other Guns were discharg'd, and the *Indians*, who had never heard or seen the like, thinking that Fire came down from Heaven, were frighted, yet forbore not fighting with much Bravery; however the Town was enter'd, with the Destruction of many *Indians*. The *Spaniards* then fell to plundering, and found the Houses full of Wheat, and other Provisions, but no Gold; being left peaceable Masters of the Town, for the *Indians* were fled into the Woods. The Temple, which was strong and large, was view'd, where the Men took up their Quarters, and kept good Guard that Night. The next Day *Cortes* sent some of the

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the *Indians* that had been taken, to bid the Lord of the Town come to him, without any Fear, and he would be his Friend for the future.

THE Lord of the Town, giving no Credit to the Messengers sent by *Cortes*, drew together his Men, resolving to destroy or drive away those few Strangers. Whilst the Preparations were making, he sent twenty-two *Indians*, well dress'd after their Manner, who seem'd to be prime Men, and told *Cortes*, that their Lord desir'd him not to burn the Town, and he would send him Provisions. He answer'd, that since he had dismiss'd all the Prisoners, they might be satisfy'd he desir'd to live in Peace with them. They return'd the next Day with Provisions, and said, their Lord would permit them freely to go up the Country to batter for more. *Cortes*, thinking that since they had been defeated, they were not inclin'd to War, gave them some Toys, and sent three Captains, with as many Detachments of *Spaniards* into the Country, being *Alonso de Avila*, *Peter de Alvarado*, and *Gonçalo de Sandoval* to seek for the Cazique, and bring in Provisions. One of these Captains fell into some Corn Fields, near a Town, where he found many arm'd *Indians*, who it is likely were waiting for the rest. He desiring them to sell him some Corn, and he would pay for it, they refus'd, and so from one Word to another they came to Blows, the *Indians* attacking in such furious Manner, that the *Spaniards* had enough to do to stand them, for they shot abundance of Arrows, and press'd on with Spears, arm'd at the Points with sharp Bones of Fishes. They drove the *Spaniards* so hard, that they shut them up in a House, where they fought a great Part of the Day. The Cries of the *Indians* when they are numerous being hideous, and echoing in the Mountains, the other Detachments of *Spaniards* made towards the Noise, and came at such Time as those

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those who were shut up despair'd of their Lives. Notwithstanding that Succour, the *Indians* did not desist, but grew the fiercer, tho' the *Spaniards* were then about two hundred. Whilst the Party was besieg'd in the House, before the Succour came, some *Indians* of *Cuba* went to acquaint *Cortes* with what had hapned, and he being a most diligent Man, immediately march'd that Way with a Number of *Spaniards*, and some Pieces of Artillery. He found them retiring, and furiously pursu'd by the *Indians*, and tho' he would have sav'd the Effusion of Blood, seeing the Danger his Men were in, he caus'd the Guns to be fir'd, the *Indians* fled, and entirely dispers'd. *Cortes* did not regard to pursue them, because his Men were tir'd, and many of them wounded. As soon as return'd to the Town, he sent the wounded Men aboard the Ships, and order'd all that were sound, with the Horses and Guns to be landed. The *Indians* not thinking themselves vanquish'd, to the Number of above forty thousand, as being well acquainted with the Country, took Post between certain Trenches of Water, and Morasses that were difficult to pass. *Cortes* having given Charge of the Artillery to *Alonso de Mesa*, after hearing Mass, advanc'd with four hundred *Spaniards*, and twelve Horse, towards the Enemy, between many Plantations of Cacao, which is the Wealth of that Country, and requiring to be continually water'd, there were many Trenches, which prov'd a great Hindrance to the Horses, and very convenient for the *Indians* to offend the *Spaniards*. As soon as they came in Sight of one another, the *Spaniards* found themselves much encumber'd by the Nature of the Ground, and began to break their Order. *Cortes* commanded the Foot to march along a Causeway that was enclos'd on both Sides with much Water, and went himself to pass with the Horse on the left Hand, but could not come up as soon as he had expected, by reason

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son of the Trenches. In the mean Time, the *Indians* fell on desperately with their Arrows, Slings, and Darts, charging the *Spaniards* so home, that they shut them up in a hollow, which was like a Horse-shoe, and tho' the Muskets and Cross-Bows did much Execution, killing great Numbers, they valu'd not the Loss, considering their own Multitude, and the small Number of the *Spaniards*, for they reliev'd one another at Pleasure. The *Spaniards* being thus press'd, endeavour'd to gain a more advantageous Ground, where they might make better Use of their Weapons, and particularly of their little Guns, because there were fewer Trenches and Banks, behind which and the Trees the *Indians* shelter'd themselves, and shot in Safety, without being hurt. The *Spaniards* were now much tir'd, and many of them wounded, and tho' the Guns kill'd abundance of the *Indians*, by reason they were so numerous, yet they drove them into such a narrow Compass, that they were forc'd to fight Back to Back, and so close was the Engagement, that the Guns could no longer play, and they seem'd to be quite lost. Whilst they were in this Distress, Cortes arriv'd, after having pass'd many Trenches and Quagmires, and seeing his Men in Danger, charged with his Horse, killing many, which struck a mighty Terror among the *Indians*, who had never seen the like, and thought that the Horse and Man were both one and the same Creature. In this Consternation, and having suffer'd so great a Loss, they betook themselves to the Woods, and the Foot pursu'd, killing vast Numbers. Cortes founded a Retreat, found sixty wounded, and none kill'd, and so return'd to the Town; reckoning that above one thousand *Indians* had been slain that Day.

WHEN he had rested two Days, and taken Care of the wounded Men, Cortes thought fit to send to the Cazique, to tell him, that what had hapned had been
his

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his own Fault, yet he was sorry for it, but if he would be his Friend no farther Harm should be done him, and he might guess by what so few Men had done, what he was to expect if the War went on. The *Indians* being quite dispers'd, and considering the Slaughter that had been made among them, were all of Opinion, that since those Men were so strong, and us'd such dreadful Weapons, and particularly had those Creatures which ran so swiftly, that there was no escaping them, so that they should soon be quite destroy'd, a Peace ought to be concluded with them. The Cazi- que immediately sent some grave Persons to treat. *Cortes* receiv'd them very affectionately, they ask'd leave to bury the dead, and to visit him. He, with a chearful Countenance answer'd, He was glad they were sensible of their Error, and would be well pleas'd to establish Peace and Amity with them; and to oblige them the more, presented them with many *Spanish* Toys, ordering all the Prisoners that had been taken in the Fight to be set at Liberty, and those that were wounded to be dress'd. This Answer fully gain'd the Cazi- que, and his prime Men, and dressing himself very fine after their Manner, he went to visit *Cortes*, with a great Retinue, carrying a considerable Quantity of Provisions. The Cazi- que walk'd between two of his Chief Officers, the rest following, and after having laid the Present before *Cortes*, in which there was not above the Value of four hundred Peices of Eight in Gold, that Country affording none, he advanc'd towards him, who was sitting on a Chair. *Cortes* stood up and embrac'd him, and all the prime Men, and then an *Indain* making very profound Obeysance took his Place on the one Side, between *Cortes* and the Cazi- que, and *Aguilar* on the other Side. Then the Cazi- que having paid his Respects to *Cortes*, turn'd to the *Indian*, telling him all he had to say, that he might deliver the
same

same to *Aguilar*, it being the Custom among them, that when the Lord they speak to does not understand their Language, they place a Servant to talk to the Interpreter, which is a Piece of State they observe.

He said, That he and those Gentlemen humbly offer'd themselves to be his Servants, and were very sorry for what was past, but for the future they would obey him in all things, in Token whereof they had brought him that Present, and all the Country should be at his Service, and submit to him. *Cortes* was glad to hear this, embrac'd him again, express'd much Kindness, and gave them many Baubles, with which they were well pleas'd. When these Words had pass'd between them, those *Indians* hearing the Horses that were in the Court neigh, ask'd, what ail'd the *Tequanes*, that is, those fierce Things. *Cortes* said, they were angry, because he had not punish'd them severely, for offering to make War on the Christians. They immediately order'd many large Cotton Cloths like Blankets to be brought, for the Horses to lye on, and Fowls for them to eat, that they might be appeas'd. They were never satisfy'd with gazing at, without daring to approach to them, desir'd they would forgive them, and not be angry, for they would always be Friends to the Christians. *Cortes* ask'd them, why they had behav'd themselves in that Manner towards him, since they had been so courteous to others, who had pass'd that Way. They answer'd, the others were few, had been satisfy'd with what they gave them, and went their Way; but that seeing now so many Ships, and such a Number of Men, it had made them afraid that they were coming to take their Country, and Goods; and that being look'd upon as Men of Valour among all their Neighbours, and owning no Superior, they had thought it a cowardly Part, since they themselves were so many, and the *Spaniards* so few, not to cut them off.

They said, the Guns, and the dreadful Wounds made by the Swords had much daunted them, and that the Horses were so fierce, and so fleet, that they fancy'd they would swallow them up, and that they flew, because they overtook them, if they ran ever so fast. The *Spaniards* ask'd, Whether much of that Gold was found thereabouts, and they answer'd, there was not, but in other Parts far off, as they show'd with their Hands. This done, they took their Leave, and sent Provisions, and twenty Women Slaves to make Bread, with the Stones for grinding the Corn, which *Cortes* order'd to be distributed among his Captains, and prime Men; and that *Marina*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, fell to the Lot of *Alonso Hernandez Porto Carrero*.

Cortes thinking he had well secur'd that Part of *Tasco*, resolv'd to proceed on his Voyage, but the next Day being *Palm-Sunday*, he order'd a solemn Procession to be made, in Honour of the Festival, to which he invited the Chiefs of the *Indians*, who being very fond of Novelties, readily comply'd, and came in their best Attire, with a Multitude of People, Women, and Children. The Procession was made, all the *Spaniards* carrying Boughs in their Hands, with the greatest Pomp and Devotion that could be, the *Indians* observing that Solemnity with singular Attention. Some of them said, that the God of the Christians was the Almighty, since such brave People worshipp'd him with so much Gravity and Respect, for there were some indifferent good Voices, and agreeable Musick, which the *Indians* admir'd; besides that the Trumpets, Drums, and Kettle-Drums surpriz'd them, each Sort of Instrument being play'd on, in its due Time and Place. When the Solemnity was over, *Cortes* embark'd, fir'd his Guns, and set sail, after having been inform'd, that *Julian* the *Indian*, who ran away,

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away, had advis'd the People to make War on him Day and Night; whereupon he requiring to have him deliver'd into his Hands, they said, that his Advice having prov'd pernicious to them, they would have seiz'd him, but he made his Escape; yet it was afterwards known that they had sacrific'd him,

The End of the Second Book.



Bb 2

THE



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

DECAD. II. BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*The Cazique Henry revolts in Hispaniola ;
the Causes that mov'd him to it ; his Be-
haviour.*



WE will for a while leave Cortes under
Sail, to return to *Hispaniola*, that none
of the Transactions of this Year 1519
may be omitted. It hapned, that a
Youth, whose Name was *Valencuela*,
inherited a Number of *Indians* from his
Father, being an Inhabitant of the Town of *St. John
de la Maguana*, the Cazique whereof was call'd *Henry*,
who had been bred, when a Boy, in the *Franciscan
Monastery*

Monastery there then was, in the Town of *Verapaz*, in the Province of *Xaragua*, where *Bobachio*, one of the five Kings of *Hispaniola* had reign'd, and the Friars had taught him to read and write, and instructed him in an orderly Course of Life, and he made it appear by his Actions, that he had improv'd under those Religious Men. This Man's Province was by the *Indians* call'd *Baoruco*, lying on the Mountains on the South Side of the Island, extending from thirty to seventy Leagues Distance from the Port of *Santo Domingo*. This Cazi-que being gone from the Friars, when he was a Man, marry'd an *Indian* Woman of a good Family, call'd *Doña Mencia*. *Harry* was tall, and well shap'd, proportionable, and lusty, his Face neither beautiful nor deform'd; but his Aspect was grave and severe. He serv'd the aforesaid *Valenzuela* with his *Indians*, and among his other Chattels had a Mare, which *Valenzuela* took from him by Force, and not so satisfy'd, endeavour'd to debauch his Wife, and because he expostulated with him, asking, why he did him that Injury and Disgrace, it was reported that he cudgell'd him. He had Recourse to the Governour's Lieutenant in that Town, call'd *Peter de Badilla*, who threatned him, if he offer'd to come again with any Complaints against *Valenzuela*, and is said to have imprison'd him. Finding no Redress there, he resolv'd to go make his Complaint to the Court at *Santo Domingo*. Those Judges did not take Notice as they ought to have done of that Affair, being more intent upon their own Interest than to do Justice; and accordingly they gave him a Letter of Recommendation to the aforesaid *Badilla*, who upon the Delivery of it us'd him worse than he had done before, and *Valenzuela* being inform'd of it, did the like. *Harry*, for so he was call'd from his Infancy, bore those Injuries with Patience and Dissimulation, and when the Time of his Attendance was over, being some Months of the Year, the Companies reliev'd one another,

ther, and he return'd home, where confiding on the Justice of his Cause, and the Uncoothness of his Country, which was inaccessible for Horses, and in the Fidelity of his People, he resolv'd to be no longer subservient to his Enemy, nor to send him any of his *Indians*, but to stand upon his Defence. *Valenzuela* perceiving that he did not send his *Indians* at the due Time, supposing him to be provok'd on account of the Injuries receiv'd, went himself with eleven Men to bring and abuse him. He found him upon his Guard, provided with Spears, arm'd at the Points with Nails, and sharp Fish-Bones, Bows, Arrows, and Stones, and what else the *Indians* could procure. They advanc'd to meet him, with the Cazique at their Head, who bid *Valenzuela* be gone, for none of his *Indians* should go with him. *Valenzuela* making little Account of what he said, call'd him Dog, gave other ill Language, and fell upon the *Indians*, who kill'd two *Spaniards*, and having wounded the rest, put them to flight. *Harry* would not pursue, but said, Be thankful *Valenzuela* that I do not kill you, go your Way, and come here no more, take heed. *Valenzuela* return'd wounded to St. *John de la Maguana*, but nothing of his Pride abated. It was presently reported about the Island that *Harry* was revolted, the Court, which might have easily prevented that Disturbance by doing Justice, order'd some Men to march to reduce him. About seventy or eighty Men went in Quest of him, who being tir'd and spent with many Days Search after him, at length found him in a Wood, where he attack'd them, kill'd some, wounded others, and the rest got off with Shame and Vexation.

Harry's Fame was spread through the Island, and the Report of his Victories, which made many *Indians* flock to him, so that he got three hundred Men, though at first he had not one hundred. He taught them how to fight, and would never permit any of those

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those that resorted to him, to go out to plunder, or kill any *Spaniards*, only aiming to defend himself, tho' it hapned, that without his Consent his *Indians* kill'd two or three *Spaniards*, that came from the Continent, and had fifteen or twenty thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold; and it was believ'd to have been done by some Gang before they join'd him. His Men also being sent abroad to discover, committed some Disorders, which he did not command them to do; nor did he punish them, lest they should forsake him, he only directed them to take their Arms from the *Spaniards*, and let them go, his main Design being to get good Store of Weapons, in handling whereof his *Indians* became very dextrous in a short Time, so that he got abundance of Arms, at several Times when Parties were sent against him. An *Indian* would then stand to it bravely with a *Spaniard*, and it was hard to find any odds between them, besides that those *Indians*, who ran away from their Masters always endeavour'd to carry off some of their Arms. He was extraordinary diligent, and watchful in securing himself, keeping Guards and Sentinels on the Passes through which any Enemies could come upon him; and as soon as he heard that there were any *Spaniards* near, he gather'd all the Women, Children, sick and aged Men, and such others as were not useful in War, and carry'd them away under a Guard of fifty Men, to some Places of Security on the Mountains, where he had Land till'd, and Provisions, leaving a Nephew he had, who was a Dwarf, but extraordinary brave with his Forces, to oppose the *Spaniards*, whom the *Indians* fought like Lyons. Then *Harry* came on fresh, with his fifty Men, and fell on where he thought most convenient, and by that means always prov'd victorious, though often attack'd.

It hapned once, that a considerable Number of *Spaniards* being routed, seventy of them ran into some rocky

rocky Caves, to hide themselves from the *Indians*, that pursu'd them, who being inform'd of it, brought Wood to burn them. *Harry* order'd they should not be burnt, but disarm'd, and sent away, and thus they got a good Quantity of Spears, Swords, and Cross-Bows, though they could never make use of the last. He always order'd that no *Spaniard* should be kill'd, unless it were in Fight, and if, at the Time that *Harry* return'd with his fifty Companions from securing the Women and the rest, the *Spaniards* were not yet come, he was so watchful as to be the first that discover'd them. He always slept awhile about Night-fall, and then rising took along with him two Youths, like Esquires, with two Spears, and two Swords, which were always at the Head of the Hamack where he lay. He walk'd about his Camp, saying his Prayers, and by that Means was the first that heard the Enemy, and awak'd his Men. He likewise took Care to have Land till'd, and Cottages built in several Places along those Mountains, which extend thirty or forty Leagues in Length, by which Means he secur'd his People that were not fit for War, sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another. And having many Dogs to hunt the wild Swine, with which he fed his People, they being very numerous, and also abundance of Fowl, which he bred, to prevent being found out by the barking of the Dogs, and the crowing of the Cocks, he had some Houses built in a very retir'd Place, with only two or three *Indians* and their Wives, to look to those Creatures, he and his Men keeping off at a great Distance from thence. When he sent out any *Indians*, being never above four, to Fish, or Hunt, or upon any other Business, they were sure never to find him in the same Place where they had left him, nor did they certainly know where to look for him; which he did to the End that if the *Spaniards* should happen to take them, it might not be in their Power to tell

where

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where he was. The Danger was not the same when he sent many, because it was no easy Matter to take them all, so that he thought some one would always escape to carry him the News.

THE Fame of *Harry's* Victories spread all over the Island, for, as has been said, the *Spaniards* never march'd against him, but they came off with the worst of it, so that they were in a Consternation, and when Men were commanded out against him, many went with an ill Will, which occasion'd this War to last several Years, it cost the King forty thousand Ducats, and on account of it several Towns were entirely abandon'd. A good Religious Man, whose Name was Father *Remigius*, being one of the *Franciscan* Friars that went over from *Picardy* to *Hispaniola*, and had been concern'd in the Education of *Harry*, offer'd to go to discourse, and reduce him, it being so difficult to do it by Force. He was carry'd aboard a Ship, and set ashore, as near as they could guess to the Place where *Harry* was, who being very careful, as soon as any Ship appear'd, to know where they landed, and sending out Parties to get Intelligence of it, one of those Parties came to the Place where the Father had been set ashore, and ask'd, Whether he came as a Spy from the *Spaniards*. He answer'd he did not, but to speak with *Harry*, and desire he would be his Friend, and not skulk about in that forlorn Manner; and that he had taken the Trouble upon him, because he lov'd them. The *Indians* having heard him, told him, "He ly'd, for the *Spaniards* were wicked, and had always told them Lies, never keeping Faith with them, and that they believ'd he design'd to deceive them, as the rest had done, and they had a good Mind to kill him." The good Frier was much perplex'd; but *Harry* having charg'd them, not to kill any *Spaniard*, unless it were in Fight, they forbore; but took off all his Habits to his Tunick, and so they left him.

They divided the Habit among them, cutting it in Pieces. He begg'd of them to acquaint *Harry*, that he was one of the *Franciscan* Friars, and desir'd to see him, praying they would take him along with them. Leaving him there, they acquainted *Harry*, who immediately went to, and made him sensible, that he was much concern'd at what those *Indians* had done; begging his Pardon, tho' it had been against his Consent, and praying he would not be angry; this being the Method of the *Indians* to comfort those that are under Affliction. The Father entreated him to be a Friend to the *Spaniards*, and he should be well us'd for the future. He answer'd, there was nothing he desir'd more; but that he very well knew what the *Spaniards* were, and that they had kill'd his Father, and his Grandfather, and all the Great Men of the Province of *Xaragua*, and having told the Wrongs and Injuries he had receiv'd from *Valenzuela*, added, That to avoid being murder'd as his Parents had been, he was fled into his Country, where he then was; and that neither he nor his did Harm to any Body, but only stood upon their Defence against such as went to enslave or kill them; and that rather than live as they had done till then in Bondage, where they should perish as their Predecessors had done, he would never more see any *Spaniard*, or have to do with them. The Ship that brought the Frier plying up and down in Sight, they made Signals, and the Boat coming to the Shore, *Harry* kiss'd the Father's Hand, with Tears in his Eyes, the Seamen cover'd him with their Cloaks, and returning to *Santo Domingo*, he found another poor Habit there.





C H A P. II.

Cortes arrives at St. John de Ulva ; treats with the Governour ; finds Marina the Interpreter ; receives two Presents from Motezuma, who bids him depart the Country, and he takes Care to secure his Men to himself,



ORTES departing from *Tabasco*, held on his Course to the Westward, close in with the Land, those who had been there with *John de Grijalva* pointing out to him the *Rambla*, the River of *Tonalá*, call'd of *St. Antony*, that of *Guazacoalco*, the Snowy Mountains, and those of *St. Martin*, the *Roca partida*, or Cleft Rock, being certain very large Rocks running out into the Sea, having a Dent on the Top, like a Chair, and farther on, the Rivers of *Alvarado*, and of *Banderas*, or Colours, the White and Green Islands, and at length they came to the Island of *Sacrifices*, and proceeded to *St. John de Ulva*, all which Space was call'd *Chalchicoeca*. Many close and thick Woods appear'd along the Country, as also many *Zavanas*, or Plains. Abundance of People showing themselves on the Shore, which seem'd to be expos'd and dangerous, Cortes gave Orders to seek out some Place where they might come to an Anchor, and the Ships ride in Safety from the North Wind. The

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Indians having been well us'd by *John de Grijalva*, as soon as they spy'd the Ships, flock'd down in vast Numbers to the Shore, making Signals for them to draw near, but *Cortes* would not permit any to land that Day. Those People, who wish'd they would come ashore, perceiving them lye still, sent two large Canoes, to enquire who they were, and what they wanted, and by the Standard flying aboard, the Admiral understood that the Commander in Chief was there. *Cortes* receiv'd them with much Satisfaction, all the *Spaniards* expressing their Joy, showing them Gold, and by Signs, for neither Side understood one Word the other said, express'd that they would barter for it, if they brought any, and would do them no Wrong. *Cortes* gave them to eat, and *Spanish* Wine to drink, which they lik'd, and some blue Beads, and so they went away well satisfy'd. The next Day, being *Good-Friday*, *Cortes* order'd all the Men, the Artillery, the Horses, &c. to be landed on a Strand, full of great Heaps of Gravel, or Sand, where they planted the great Guns, as was thought most for their Security. An Altar was erected, on which Mass was said, Barracks, or Huts were set up for the Men to lie in, by three and three in every one, the which, and providing for the Horses, took up that Day. On *Saturday*, being *Easter-Eve*, abundance of *Indians* came down, sent by a *Cazique*, who was one of *Moteczuma's* Officers, call'd *Pitalpitoe*, and afterwards *Obandillo*. They brought Bread, made of *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, Fruit, and other Eatables, as also many Pieces of Gold, Fans, Targets, and other costly Things made of Feathers, which were purchas'd for *Spanish* Toys, as Hawks-bells, Knives, and Scissors, with which the *Indians* thought themselves rich, and that they had cheated the *Spaniards*; and returning very joyfully to their Towns, carrying the News that more People like the former were come, of whom for so small a Price as the Gold was, they had bought

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those costly Things; whereupon infinite Numbers resorted, for there were very large Towns, some four, some five, and some ten Leagues up the Country; but they had not yet receiv'd Advice of what had hapned at *Tabasco*, for had they known it, they would have been more reserv'd. The *Indians* sent by *Pitalpitoe* fitted up *Cortes's* Hut, and those that were next to it, and laid great Pieces of Cloth, or Blankets over them, for a Shelter against the Sun, which shin'd out very hot.

ON *Easter-Sunday*, *Moteczuma's* Chief Governour in that Province, whose Name was *Tenchtillie*, came to the Army, and with him *Pitalpitoe*, being another prime Man, they were follow'd by a considerable Number of *Indians*, carrying a Present of Gold, Fowl, and other Things. When the Governour had thrice made Obeysance to *Cortes* in very humble Manner, he receiv'd him with much Civility, and having heard what he had to say, tho' ill understood, he order'd the Altar to be adorn'd in the best Manner that could be. *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, who had a good Voice, sung Mass, the Clergyman *John Diaz*, and some Soldiers that could sing officiating, the *Indians* attentively observing all that was done. The Governour and *Pitalpitoe* din'd with *Cortes*, who in the best Manner he could gave them to understand whose Subjects they were, that they were Christians, and that he desir'd to visit their King, in Order to acquaint him with some Matters of great Moment, which he would be glad to hear, and to trade with his Subjects in friendly Manner. *Tenchtillie* answer'd, "You are but just come, and would you speak to him already? Receive this Present we bring you in his Name, and then you shall tell me what you will." Tho' *Ferome de Aguilar* spoke only the Language of *Yucatan*, yet they understood one another with much Difficulty by Signs, and some Words. The Governour took out of a *Petaca*, being
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in the Nature of a Trunk, many Things curiously wrought in Gold, and of great Value, and ten Loads of white Cloth made of Cotton, and Feathers, all very beautiful to behold, besides the Fowl, and other Provisions he had presented. *Cortes* by Signs return'd him many Thanks, and presented him an Arm Chair inlaid, a Shirt well wrought, a Crimson Cap, and a Gold Medal of *St. George*, besides abundance of Glass Beads, and Strings of them of several Colours, wrapp'd up in Cotton, with many Perfumes of Musk, which were highly valu'd by the *Indians*, being made up into Necklaces or Collars, so that they look'd well. *Cortes* never omitting any thing that might gain him Reputation, order'd all his Men to be drawn up, and the Musketeers to fire, and the Horse to skirmish, which the *Indians* much admir'd, but above all the Thunder of the Artillery, a Thing so strange to them.

THE Governour *Tenubille* had Painters with him, who in a short Time on white Cotton Cloths very exactly painted the Ships, with all their Rigging, the *Spaniards*, with their Arms, and Horses, the Artillery, and the Number of Men, naturally enough, which together with *Cortes's* Present he sent away in all Speed to *Motezuma*. This Governour of the Province had some Troops, not to defend it from Invasions, or maritime Wars, but to keep the Natives in Subjection. He took leave of *Cortes*, and left *Pualpitoe* close by, with a Number of Women, to make Bread of *Indian* Wheat, and Men to furnish *Cortes*, and his principal Officers with Fowl, Fish, Fruit, and other Provisions; for the rest, unless they barter'd, or went out a Fishing, had nothing to eat. It hapned this Day, that one of the Women Slaves given to *Cortes* at *Tabasco*, who had fallen to the Share of *Alonso Hernandez Porto Carrero*, and was afterwards call'd *Marina*, went to talk with those Women that came to make the Bread, by which it appear'd that she was skilful in the *Mexi-*

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can Language, and being also acquainted with that of *Tabasco*, she could very well converse with *Ferome de Aguilar*, which was very pleasing to *Cortes*, in as much as it furnish'd him with the Means to be understood by the People of that Country. The *Mexican* Language is universal throughout all the Provinces of *New-Spain*, as the *Castilian* is in *Spain*, and *Marina*, as she said herself, had been stolen from her Native Country, which was towards *Xalisco*, West of *Mexico*, and sold at *Tabasco*. She was said to be of good Parentage, and it always appear'd by her Behaviour. The *Indians* of *New-Spain* being extraordinary quick of Apprehension, *Marina* and *Aguilar* soon understood one another perfectly, which prov'd very advantageous to *Cortes*.

THE Governour *Tenuthille* went himself to *Mexico* with the afore said Pictures, and to give an Account of what had pass'd between him and *Cortes*; at the Sight whereof *Moteczuma* was amaz'd, admiring the Arms, the Horses, the Guns, the Men, and their Habit. Being therefore afraid that no Good could come to him from a People so fierce, and so well furnish'd, and understanding that they coveted Gold, he order'd a Present to be pick'd out from among his Treasures, which were the greatest that had ever been known, consisting of several Things so artificially wrought, that they exceeded the very Imagination, and appointed *Tenuthille*, with another *Mexican* great Man to carry the same to *Cortes*; and it was said, he had before sent the same to *John de Grijalva*, when he was in those Parts, but that he was gone before it came. *Montezuma* now sent the same with all Expedition to *Cortes*, thinking that the *Spaniards* would be satisfy'd, and depart his Country immediately; for he order'd *Tenuthille*, when he had deliver'd the Present, in a civil Manner, to bid those Men depart his Country, and return to their own; being assur'd by his Prophecies and Omens,

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Omens. which shall be spoken of in their proper Place, that his Grandeur and Prosperity would be overthrown in a few Years, by a Nation that would bring him down, and therefore he liv'd in continual Dread and Melancholy. During seven Days *Tenuthlille* spent in going to *Mexico* and returning, abundance of People resorted from the neighbouring Towns to see the *Spaniards*, carrying some little Gold, *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, and other Provisions, which maintain'd his Soldiers, for most of them had Beads and other Toys to barter. At length *Tenuthlille* return'd with the other *Mexican* Nobleman, and above an hundred *Indians* loaded, and having made their Obeysance, and burnt their Gum Copal in little Fire-pans, the *Mexican* spoke, bidding *Cortes* welcome, and then spreading Mats, and Cotton Cloths over them, they laid down a Number of most curious Jackets, and Pieces of extraordinary fine Cotton Cloths, interwoven with delicate Feathers of various Colours; Targets made of white slender Wicker, wrought with Feathers, and Plates of Gold and Silver, and others with much Seed Pearl, of incredible Workmanship and Beauty; a thin wooden Head-Piece, cover'd with natural Grains of Gold that had not been melted; a Helmet of Plates of Gold, with little Bells hanging at it, and some Stones like Emeralds set in it; Plumes of very large Feathers, with Tassels of Gold hanging at them; Fans made of fine Feathers, wonderfully wrought with Ornaments of Gold and Silver; Bracelets, and other Ornaments of Gold, which they us'd in their Wars, so intermix'd with green and yellow Feathers, and red Deer's-Skins well dress'd, that there is no expressing their Curiosity; Buskins, or Sandals of Deer's-Skins, sew'd with Gold Thread, and a white and blue Stone for the Sole, very thin and of great Value, lin'd with Cotton; Looking-Glasses made of *Margajita*, being a most beautiful Metal, like bright Silver, as big as a Man's Fist, and round

round as a Ball, set in Gold, the which laying aside the Value of the Metal, for only their Beauty and Workmanship might be sold at a great Rate, and were fit to be presented to any Prince; many Blankets, and Curtains for Beds of Cotton, so extremely fine, that they look'd richer than if they had been made of Silk, and of several Colours; many Pieces of Gold and Silver; a Gold Collar with above one hundred Emeralds, and many more Rubies, or Stones that look'd like them, and many little Gold Bells hanging down; another Collar with many Emeralds, and some rich Pearls, the Workmanship admirable, and other little Pieces like Frogs and Insects; Jewels like Medals great and small, the Workmanship whereof was more valuable than the Gold or Silver; Grains of Gold never melted down, as they came out of the Mines, as big as large Peas. Besides all this, he gave two Wheels, the one of Gold with the Resemblance of the Sun wrought on it, with its Rays, and Foliages, and some particular Animals, which weigh'd above one hundred Marks; the other was of Silver, with the Figure of the Moon, wrought after the same Manner as the Sun, weighing above fifty Marks, the Thickness about the same as an Half Crown Piece, all solid, and in Compass about as big as a Cart Wheel. All that saw this stood amaz'd at such immense Wealth, and it was judg'd, that the Gold and Silver there was worth twenty-five thousand Castellanos, but the Workmanship was worth much more.

WHEN the Present was deliver'd, *Tenubilla*, and the other Gentleman he had brought from *Mexico*, offering Provisions, with many Compliments, desir'd *Cortes* to return to his own Country, since he wanted for nothing. He having his Expectations rais'd by what he saw, said, he must needs see the King, and impart to him some Affairs of the greatest Moment, and at the same Time gave the Governour and the other Gentle-

man some Shirts curiously wrought, a Silk loose Coat, Cap, and Breeches, Necklaces of Beads of several Colours, and some other of the best Things he had, which they receiv'd, but with little Satisfaction, because they saw no likelihood of his going away, and they sent them to *Mexico*. *Cortes* seeing the Multitude of People, and the extraordinary Appearances of Wealth, which in Reality was incredible, by the Sharpness of his Wit concluded what a happy Country that was, and having always aspir'd to great Exploits, he resolv'd to stay there, and because nothing so much disturb'd him as the Port, he sent two of the smallest Ships in his Fleet, to view the Coast, the one under the Command of *Francis de Montejo*, and the other under *Roderick Alvarez Chico*, with the Pilots *Antony de Alaminos*, and *John Alvarez Manquillo*. He directed them to sail ten Days as near the Coast as conveniently they could, towards *Panuco*, having been inform'd that a proper Port might be found that Way. They proceeded as far as the great River of *Panuco*, but could go no farther by reason of the strong Currents. Being upon their Return, there hapned so great a Storm, that they expected to have perish'd, and tho' the same abated, their Water fell short, insomuch that they had like to have dy'd with Thirst, and going about to supply this Want, the Gunner, who would have gone ashore with a Comrade, was drowned, and the other with much Difficulty, and some Hurts, occasion'd by the Swelling of the Surges, escap'd. Another, who attempted to do so, return'd much frightened with the great Danger. The next Day they heav'd Ropes as far as they could, to recover the Man that was ashore, which he with much Labour took hold of, and was sav'd. In the mean time, *Roderick Alvarez Chico*, and *Francis de Montejo* order'd all the Arms to be lash'd fast to the Planks of the Ship, to the End that the rowling Sea might drive them ashore, the Storm being renew'd, re-

solving

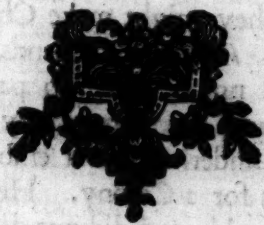
solving to run the Ships on Ground, because they were perishing with Thirst. When they were upon the Point of putting the same in Execution, the Wind came up at North, with heavy Rain, which was a great Relief to them, because they gather'd the Water with Sheets, and some Vessels, and some drank that which ran down from the Sails. They kill'd a Tunny-Fish, having before thrown all the Provisions overboard, except the Bisket, and the North Wind carry'd them that Day near to St. *John de Ulva*, when they had been twelve Days upon this dangerous Voyage. They landed bare-headed, and without Shoes or Stockings, in Procession, and walk'd so to an Arbour where the Altar was, giving Thanks to God for their Deliverance from that Danger. They said, that about eight or ten Leagues from thence, they had seen a Town, which look'd as if it were fortify'd, call'd *Chianhuizlan*, and that close by it there was a Harbour, where the Pilots believ'd the Ships might ride in Safety from the North Wind.

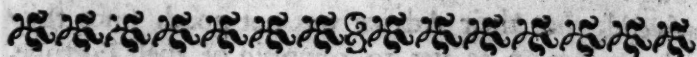
SIX Days after *Teuthlille* went away to Mexico with *Cortes's* Present, he return'd with another of many valuable Cotton Cloths, Feathers, Gold and Silver, to be given to *Cortes*, because he was so covetous of those Metals, and Orders to press him to be gone, since he had been so well us'd, and if he would not go, they should give him no more, but leave him. *Teuthlille* deliver'd the Present, and with it his Message from the King, in very plain Terms. *Cortes* still insisted, that he would go see him; the Governour answer'd, that he should not, for such was his Master's Will. Being thus at Variance, *Teuthlille* went away, leaving Orders behind him, that all the *Indians*, who were there serving the *Spaniards*, should slip away at Night, and not one to stay behind. The next Morning all those People's Huts were found abandon'd, whereupon *Cortes* began to take other Measures for staying. Being

apprehensive of being attack'd by some Army from *Motetzuma*, he order'd all the spare Provisions to be carry'd aboard the Ships, that nothing might be lost in a Hurry, and kept himself upon his Guard. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* standing Sentinel with another Soldier, saw five *Indians* coming towards them along the Strand, permitted them to draw near, and they looking pleasantly, after paying their Obeysance, by Signs ask'd to be conducted to the Army. *Bernal Diaz* went with them, and being brought before *Cortes*, they saluted him in a Language that was not understood, but having acquainted *Marina* that they knew the *Mexican* Tongue, They wish'd *Cortes* welcome, and told him, that the Lord of *Zempoala* had sent them to know, who they were, for having heard of what had been done at *Tabasco*, he thought them very brave, and that they would have come sooner, had it not been for Fear of those of *Culha*. This gave *Cortes* a Handle to enquire, why they were shy off, and bore those People ill Will. Having given them some Presents, they went away well pleas'd, he telling them, that he would very shortly go see their Lord.

PROVISIONS began to fall short, the *Cazabi* sail'd, and grew mouldy, and that Place on the Strand was hot and inconvenient, besides that, the long-legged Mosquitos, or Gnats, and the small ones, which are worse, much troubled the Men. *Cortes* therefore resolv'd to remove to the Town, *Mantejo*, and the rest said, they had seen on the Coast, and lye under the Shelter of the Rock. *James Velasquez's* Kindred, Friends, and Partisans ask'd him, why he would undertake that Voyage without Provisions, thirty-five of his Soldiers being sick, besides some that had been wounded at *Tabasco*, and were not quite recover'd adding, that the Country being so large and populous they would one Day or other rise in Arms against him, for which Reason it would be better to return

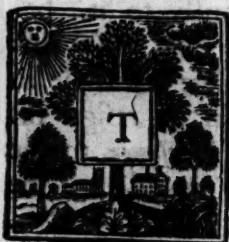
to *Cuba*, that they might come again with a greater Power. *Cortes* being much offended at this Proposal, answer'd, that their Advice was not good, since they had no Reason as yet to complain of their Fortune, but ought rather to thank God, for having prosper'd them till then, and therefore it was proper to be perfectly inform'd of what the Country afforded, there being Plenty of Provisions, and other Things, which they might contrive to make their Advantage of. This somewhat quell'd those restless Spirits, though there was always Muttering, and Cabals. *Cortes*, who had always made it his Business to secure to himself that Armament, every Day since he departed *Cuba*, had been gaining Friends, and upon this Occasion apply'd himself more industriously to it, because he found that Country was so rich. To this Purpose, he propos'd a strange Artifice to those in whom he most confided, which was to resign his Commission as Lieutenant to *James Velasquez* to the whole Army, by which Means he would not be oblig'd to obey him, or receive any of his Orders, and at the same Time not liable to be recall'd by him.





C H A P. III.

*Cortes resolves to settle in New-Spain ;
founds the Colony of Villa Rica ; mar-
ches to Zempoala ; his Reception there,
and Return to his Ships.*



TO carry on his Design of settling in *New-Spain*, *Cortes* alledg'd, that if they return'd to *Cuba*, they must certainly be undone, because *James Velasquez* would take away all they had got, and they lose all the Wealth that Country afforded ; and being sensible that to erect a Colony there, was most for his Advantage, he inculcated the same, urging, that they ought not to leave those Treasures to be enjoy'd by others. He offer'd, as Commander in Chief, to appoint a Council, and other proper Officers for a Town, and then they might make Choice of him in the King's Name. *Velasquez's* Friends being very numerous, this could not be done so privately but that they heard of it, who therefore plainly told him, that he should not deal underhand, but embark, since there were no Provisions for a Colony. He answer'd very sedately, that he would, and did not design to act contrary to *James Velasquez's* Instructions, and accordingly the next Day caus'd Proclamation to be made for every Man to embark aboard the same Ship in which he came. Those who were of his Party, being all agreed

among

among themselves, answer'd, that it was not well done to impose upon them, since he had given it out at *Cuba*, that he was going to settle and trade, and therefore they requir'd him to erect a Colony, because it would be for the Service of God and the King. These and such like Arguments being us'd, *Cortes*, giving leave to such as desir'd it to return to *Cuba*, accepted of what he so earnestly desir'd with much Entreaty, and upon Condition that they should appoint him Captain General, and Chief Justice, and allow him a fifth of all the Gold that should be gain'd, after deducting that which was the King's due. He chose his greatest Confidants Officers, or Magistrates. The two Alcaldes were *Alonso Hernandez Puerto Carrero*, and *Francis de Montejo*; the Regidores *Alonso de Avila*, *Alonso* and *Peter de Alvarado*, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, &c. He gave the Alcaldes Wands, and put them in Possession of their Places with the usual Ceremonies, and call'd the new Town *Villa Rica de la vera Cruz*, that is, *The rich Town of the true Cross*, the first Part on Account of the Wealth they had found, and the latter because they landed there on *Good-Friday*. When this was done, and all the Officers assembled, *Cortes* came in, and taking of his Cap, said, They well knew he had been appointed by *James Velasquez*, Governour of *Cuba*, to command that Fleet, in order to trade in that Country, which had been discover'd by *John de Grijalva*, and that believing *Velasquez* had not a sufficient Power to authorize him, he for ever resign'd the Post of Captain General to those Gentlemen, Alcaldes, and Regidores there present, and desisted from it, to the End that they, in the King's Name, might confer the same on the Person they should think most proper, till his Majesty should otherwise decree, and he demanded of the Notary to give him a solemn Testimonial of the same. The Alcaldes said, they heard him, and he should withdraw, to the End that they might be

he at Liberty to ordain as should be for the King's Service, and the Benefit of that Corporation. When *Cortes* was withdrawn, they took into Consideration, not the Choice, for that they had before agreed on, but the Manner of it, and concluded, that they should assemble the Inhabitants, to whom one of the Alcaldes notify'd the Renunciation made by *Cortes*, and the Reasons that had induc'd him to it, and that all the Magistrates were of the Mind not to change their General, and Chief Justice, because of the Experience they had of *Cortes's* Wisdom, his Generosity, and Affability, and how well he had treated all Men; and because it was very dangerous to part with him they knew so well, for another, who they knew not how he might govern, especially considering he had all the Qualifications for that Post, and therefore, that the Election might be the more valid, it was convenient that they should give their Consent. Those who had been before secur'd to this Effect, to avoid being prevented by any others, cry'd out, *Cortes, Cortes*, saying he was the proper Person, and therefore he and no other should be chosen. The next Morning the Council went to wait upon *Cortes*, who, as if he had known nothing of the Matter, ask'd, What was their Pleasure? One of the Alcaldes told him what the Council had decreed, with the Approbation of the People; and that they were therefore come to require, and in Case it were necessary, to command him to accept of the Post of Captain-General, and Chief Justice, till the King should otherwise ordain, because it was expedient for his Majesty's Service and the good of the People. *Cortes* thank'd them for their Kindness, and consented to accept of the Post, since they declar'd it was requisite.

A. N. that were of the Party of *James Velasquez* rais'd bitterly at this Choice, and particularly the Captains *John Velasquez de Leon*, *James de Ordaz*, *Francis*

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de Morla, Escobar, F. John Diaz, and others of the prime Men, as well as of all Ranks, declaring, that this Action was a Piece of Treachery against *James Velasquez*, and directly contrary to the Instructions he had given. Cortes finding the Disturbance increase, with much Muttering and Cabals, caus'd *John Velasquez*, *James de Ordas*, and five more to be apprehended, sent aboard his own Ship, and kept in safe Custody, tho' with good Usage, his Friends continually tempting them with fair Offers. The Scarcity of Provisions increasing, he order'd *Peter de Alvarado*, his Confident, to march up the Country with one hundred Men, to some Towns that were not far off, to observe what he could, and endeavour to bring Provisions. Most of the Soldiers so sent were of *Velasquez's* Party, it being thought convenient to part them under this Colour, and at the same Time to please them, by going where they might eat, and make much of themselves. *Alvarado* went to certain Towns subject to one call'd *Cotasta*, being of the *Culha* or *Mexican* Dialect. He found them abandon'd, and Men and Boys sacrific'd in the Temples with their Flint Knives, their Arms and Legs cut off, and carry'd away as was suppos'd to eat them, which struck the *Spaniards* with Horror and Amazement; this being the first Time they were so fully convinc'd of the most cruel and beastly Custom of eating human Flesh; for tho' they had heard something of it before, nothing had been so convincing as this, nor did they think that the Practice had been so universal among the *Indians*, nor look'd upon as holy. Having loaded the Soldiers with *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, and Kidney-Beans, without doing any other Harm, because *Cortes* had charg'd *Alvarado* not to do as had been done at *Cozumel*, he return'd to the Camp, where Provisions being scarce, this Supply was very welcome.

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Cortes being subtle, omitted no Opportunity of bringing over to his Party all the Friends of *James Velasquez*, either by fair Words, or Gifts, some sufficient Mediators interposing. He dismiss'd all the Prisoners, except *John Velasquez* and *James de Ordas*, who, finding no other Remedy, because *Cortes* establish'd himself by Courtesy and good Behaviour, at length suffer'd themselves to be won, and became some of his best Friends. The Disturbance being quell'd at that Time, because he publickly declar'd, that he would refuse Leave to none that desir'd to return to *Cuba*, he resolv'd to go to the fortify'd Town call'd *Chianhuizlan*, and that the Ships should resort to the Rock and Port that was opposite to the said Town, being about a League distant. The Soldiers marching along the Coast came to a River, on which the Town of *Vera Cruz* is now seated. They cross'd it in some broken Canoes and Floats, because it was then deep, and on the other Side saw some Towns subject to *Zempoala*, the Place the five *Indians* came from, who had spoke to *Cortes* on the Strand. They there found some small Places of Worship, with the Idols, and Utensils for sacrificing, Blood spilt, Fire-Pans to burn Perfumes, and many Paper Books, which they had there folded up like Cloths, and the Inhabitants were fled for Fear. The *Spaniards* lay there that Night without any Supper. The next Day, they march'd up the Country Westward, leaving the Coast, and without knowing any Thing of the Way, came into some good Meadows, which they call *Zabanas*, where Deer were feeding. *Peter de Alvarado* rode after one, upon a good Sorrel Mare, and tho' he wounded him with his Spear, he got into a Wood, and could not be taken. The *Indians*, who were alarm'd at this Novelty, and very diligent in carrying Intelligence, had now given Notice to the Lord of *Zempoala*, that the *Spaniards* were in the Country. He sent twelve Men of those that belong'd to the House

and Places of Worship before-mention'd, to desire Cortes to go to his Town, which was one Sun, or Day's Journey from thence. They brought him Bread made of *Indian* Whear, and Fowls. Having return'd Thanks, they advanc'd, and lay in another little Town, where they gave them some Supper; and here as well as in all the rest they found Men sacrific'd. They were also inform'd here, that the Way to *Chianhuitzlan*, whither they were going, was through *Zempoala*, whereof Cortes sent Advice to the Lord by six of the *Indians*, and kept the other six for his Guides. The Men march'd with their Arms in Readiness, and in good Order, having the Artillery in the most convenient Part, which was drawn by *Indians* of *Cuba*, and the Blacks they had, assisted by the Soldiers, Scouts going before to prevent any Surprize. When they were within a League of *Zempoala*, twenty of the prime *Indians* came out from the Lord, to compliment Cortes, having Nosegays of Roses in their Hands, which they presented in most affectionate and humble Manner to Cortes, and the rest of the Horsemen, telling him, that their Lord expected him in his House, and came not out to meet him, because he was fat and unweildy. The *Spaniards* entering the Town, found it so large and delightful, the Houses built with Lime and Stone, and so many People in the Streets coming out to see them, that they confirm'd the Name *John de Grijalva* had given that Country of *New-Spain*, and prais'd God for having discover'd the same. *Zempoala* was a very large Town, with stately Buildings, of good Timber Work, and every House had a Garden with Water, so that it look'd like a Terrestrial Paradise, by reason of the several Sorts of excellent Fruit, both for Summer and Winter. The Situation was in a Plain, between two Rivers. The Land is fruitful, and well enclos'd; much of it plain, with good Pasture, and all Sorts of Game, and the Mountain is near at Hand,

A Market was kept every Day of all Things that were saleable, some Persons attending to see Justice done. They liv'd politely, and all paid much Respect to their Lord, and went not naked like the *Indians* in the Islands. The Town of *Z. mpoala* was, where nearest, a League and a half from the Sea. The Scouts advancing a-horseback, came to the great Square, and Courts, where the prime Houses were, which having been lately new plaister'd over, were very bright, the *Indians* being extraordinary expert at that Work, and one of those *Spaniards* fancying it had been all Silver, gallopp'd back full Speed to tell *Cortes* that he had seen Silver Walls; but the Mistake was soon found out, and the Person that brought the News much laugh'd at. The Natives were astonish'd at the Sight of the Horses, the Guns, and such strange Men. Among them were many Ladies, attended by their Maids, and all express'd their Admiration; but the *Spaniards* still advancing, the *Indians* began to come in among them without any Fear giving them Boughs, and Flowers, and they gave *Cortes* a Nosegay very artificially made, threw about his Neck a curious String of Flowers, and a Garland of them on his Helmet. When they came to the Palace, they found it enclos'd with a great Wall, cover'd with the finest glittering Lime, which shining in the Sun, made the Man before spoken of fancy it had been Silver. The Lord came out, attended by antient Men, two Persons of Note supporting him by the Arms, because it was the Custom among them to come out in that Manner, when one great Man receiv'd another. This Meeting was with much Courtesy, and abundance of Compliments, and People were already appointed to find the *Spaniards* Quarters, and furnish Provisions. When the Lord had taken his Leave of *Cortes*, the Quarters were settled in the Court of the great Temple, which held them all, because there were spacious Halls and Rooms. *Cortes* gave Orders that

Man should go out from thence without Leave, that he might be in better Readiness, and to prevent any Insolencies the Soldiers might commit. There was a Corps de Guard, Sentinels, the Artillery, properly dispos'd, the Horses always in a Readiness, and the *Indians* furnish'd all the Provisions for the Men, and Grass and *Indian* Wheat for the Horses. Some having respect to the Largeness, and Beauty of the Place, call'd it *Sevil*; and others on Account of its Plenty and Delightfulness gave it the Name of *Villaviciosa*.

THE next Day the Lord went to visit *Cortes*, presented him Pieces of Gold, Cotton Cloths, and Curiosities of Gold and Feathers wrought together, in all worth about two thousand Ducats, and bid him take his Rest and be merry, as if he were in his own House. *Cortes* answer'd in very loving and courteous Manner, for he was excellently qualify'd in all Respects, returning Thanks for his Entertainment, and gave him some of the *Spanish* Commodities he had, which were very acceptable, and highly valu'd. The Lord in his Return Home, bid a *Spanish* Gentleman that was to wait on him, to give Notice of any thing that was wanting, and all should be supply'd. *Cortes* spent some Days at *Zempoala*, receiving and returning Presents, and refreshing his Men, and at the same Time enquiring by Means of *Marina*, about the Item the five *Indians* of *Zempoala* had given him on the Strand of their being dissatisfy'd with *Motexuma*. The Governour *Teuhlille*, and his Companion, who had ever since they departed from *Cortes* observ'd all his Morions, continually sending fresh Advices thereof to *Motexuma*, were much surpriz'd, when they heard, that he was gone to *Zempoala*, and had been receiv'd there in friendly Manner. *Cortes* at the same Time thinking it expedient to be better assur'd of what he was about, sent to acquaint the Lord of *Zempoala*, that if he pleas'd, he would go pay him a Visit in his own House, who answer'd,

swer'd, he would take it as a Favour. He went with fifty Men, and they two sitting down in a large Hall, on two little Stools, each made of one Piece of Wood, as is usual among those *Indians*, having dismiss'd the Company, they spent some Time in Questions and Answers, with the Help of the Interpreters, who began now to understand one another better. *Cortes* then gave him an Account of the Occasion of his Coming, who the great King was that sent him, and that the chief Motive for sending him was to convince those Nations of the Error they liv'd in, adoring the Devil, whereas all Honour in Heaven and upon Earth, was only due to one God, the Creator of all Things.

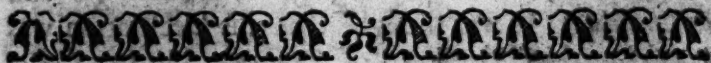
THE Lord of *Zempoala* listned with Attention to all that *Cortes* said, and answer'd, " That their Gods
 " were good, and as such had been worshipp'd by his
 " Fore-fathers; that as for the Grandeur of the King
 " who had sent him, *Motexuma* was also very great,
 " to whom all that Country, and Mountains call'd
 " *Totonacap*, which reach'd almost as far as *Panuco* had
 " been subject for some Years past, and that some of
 " those Towns having offer'd to defend themselves
 " against the Kings of *Mexico*, they had been reduc'd
 " into greater Servitude, being so cruel in War, that
 " they did not keep their Prisoners as Slaves, but sacrific'd them to the God of Victory, and did eat them on their Festivals, in Contempt of the conquered; for which Reason they were all very submissive and oppress'd, suffering intollerable Vexations from the extraordinary Taxes they paid, and because of the Insolency of the *Mexican* Ministers, which might convince him of his Inclination to be subject to that great King he spoke of; but that the Kings of *Mexico* being Confederates with the Lords of *Texcoco* and *Tlacopan*, their Power was irresistible, besides the incredible Strength of the vast City of

" *Mexico*,

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“ *Mexico*, not only in regard of its Situation, but also
“ of the immense Multitude of its Inhabitants, all of
“ them train’d in Martial Affairs by their continual
“ Wars with the People of *Tlascala*, *Guaxocingo*, and
“ *Cholula*.” It was thought that this Declaration was
not design’d by the Lord of *Zempoala*, but that *Cortes*
being a Man of wonderful Wit and Sagacity, and ha-
ving perceiv’d how uneasy all the Country was on Ac-
count of its Servitude to *Moteczuma*, and the Vexati-
ons they receiv’d from his Ministers, he had propos’d
to deliver him from that Subjection, and offer’d his
Assistance; and that the Desire of Liberty being na-
tural to all Men, and the Opinion conceiv’d of the
Spanish Valour so great, on Account of what had hap-
pened at *Tabasco*, and the Strangeness of their Persons,
Horses, and Arms, the Cazique easily inclin’d to admit
of his Succour, which gave great Satisfaction to *Cortes*,
as conducing to the carrying on of his Designs. He
comforted the Lord of *Zempoala*, encourag’d, and
promis’d he would very speedily set him at Liberty,
and revenge the Wrongs done him; but that he must
go see his Ships, and then they would treat more ful-
ly. He took his Leave, assuring them that he would
speedily return. That Lord made him a Present of
twenty Maids, all of them Daughters of prime Men,
and among them said one was his Niece, who had Sub-
jects of her own, as a Token of sincere Friendship
and Alliance. He accepted of the Present in very af-
fectionate Manner, for Fear of disobliging the Giver,
and set out with those Maidens, and many Women
Servants that attended them, towards his Ships, having
ask’d for some Men to carry Burdens, whom they
call *Tamemes*, *Ferome de Aguilar*, and *Marina* telling
him, that it was the Custom of that Country for the
Lords to find Men to carry Burdens for their Guests,
or Embassadors; and these were a great Ease to the
Spaniards, and enabled them to take more Provisions,
and

and accordingly from that Time forward they always demanded Men to carry their Burdens.



C H A P. IV.

Cortes confederates with the Lords of Zempoala, and Chianhuitzlan; seizes Motezuma's Officers; relieves the Toronaques; founds the Colony of Villa Rica; all New-Spain in a great Consternation; he abolishes Idolatry; sends Messengers to the King; and destroys his Ships.



CORTES finding all Things to answer his Expectation, set out from Zempoala for Chianhuitzlan, observing such strict Discipline, that because a Soldier, whose Name was Ferdinand Alonso de Villanueva stepp'd out of his Rank, Captain Alonso de Avila gave him such a Stroke on the Arm with his Spear, that he was ever after lame. They march'd into the Town without meeting any living Creature; till they came into the Market-Place, where were fifteen Men, who came up to Cortes, and paid their Obeysance, perfuming him with the Smoak of Gum Anime burnt in their little Fire-Pans. They bid him welcome, and begg'd Pardon for not going out to receive him, because the People were fled, till they could know what they were to do. Cortes behav'd himself very lovingly, gave them good Words, and

some

some small Gifts, and at Night all the Inhabitants were in the Town, with a considerable Present of Fowls and Bread. At this Time Advice was brought that the Lord of *Zempoala* was coming on a Bier carry'd by many *Indians*. He and the Lord of *Chianhuizlan*, with Tears in their Eyes, complain'd to *Cortes* of the Wrongs done them by *Moteczuma*; saying, he exacted heavy Taxes; took away their Sons to serve him in his Palace, and to sacrifice them, and that his Officers forc'd away theirs and their Subjects Wives and Daughters, and ravish'd them, adding many more Injuries offer'd to all those Towns of the *Totonaque* Language, being about thirty in Number, declaring that they liv'd in most miserable Servitude, without the least Glimpse of Liberty. *Cortes* kindly offer'd to deliver them from that Oppression, with which they were well satisfy'd, tho' they still express'd how much they dreaded the Effects of *Moteczuma's* Anger, when he should be inform'd that they had receiv'd and entertain'd the *Spaniards*.

WHILST they were discourfing of these Affairs, some *Indians* of the Town came in very hastily, with Advice that *Moteczuma's* Tax-gatherers were coming, which put the two *Caziques* into such a Fright, that they left *Cortes* alone, and went away quaking to receive them, those Men passing along the Market-Place where *Cortes* was, with much State and Haughtiness, attended by many of the Prime Men. Five of them had short thick Rods in their Hands, like those us'd by the *Alguaziles* in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and Fans, which were not allow'd to any but great Persons. They had Lodgings provided, and their Meat and all other Necessaries serv'd up in most splendid Manner. They reprovd the *Caziques* for having entertain'd the Strangers without the King's Leave, demanding twenty *Indians* Men and Women to be sacrific'd, in order to appease the Gods for that great Sin they had been guilty of.

of. *Cortes* observing the great Disturbance there was, enquir'd of *Marina*, what it meant, and being inform'd, sent for the Lord of *Zempoala*, ask'd of him, what Men those were he made so much of. He answer'd, they were *Moteczuma's* Tax-gatherers, who enquir'd why they had entertain'd the *Spaniards*, and demanded twenty Persons to be sacrific'd, that the Gods might make them victorious over the Strangers. *Cortes* told them, That the King his Master had sent him to relieve the oppress'd, and to abolish those Sacrifices, and shedding of human Blood; and therefore since those Officers came upon that Account, they should immediately secure them; at which the *Caziques* were astonish'd, thinking it an unheard of Presumption so to do, and durst not go about it; however *Cortes* insisting on it, they bound them to long Poles, put Collars about their Necks, and because one of them resisted they beat him. *Cortes* order'd those Lords not to pay any more Tribute to *Moteczuma*, nor obey his Commands, and to cause the same to be proclaim'd in all the Towns of their Friends and Allies, and to let him know whether there were any more Tax-gatherers in any of them, and he would cause them to be secur'd. The Fame hereof flew through the whole Country, where all Men were astonish'd at such unusual Proceedings. The two *Caziques* being encourag'd by *Cortes*, were for sacrificing the Prisoners, which he would not permit, but caus'd them to be kept in a particular Room, under a Guard of *Spaniards*. At Midnight he order'd two of the Prisoners to be brought before him, so as that the *Indians* of those Parts might know nothing of it. The Interpreters ask'd them, who they were, whence they came, and why they were confin'd. They answer'd, that the *Caziques* of *Zempoala* and *Chianhuizlan* had seiz'd them by Encouragement from him and his People. *Cortes* said, he knew nothing, and was very sorry for it, made much of, and bid them go tell their Ma-

fter *Motexuma*, that he and his Men were his Servants and Friends, and that he had dismiss'd them, and check'd the Caziques by whom they had been imprison'd, and would order the other three that were still in Custody to be discharg'd, but that they must be gone immediately before any Discovery was made. They answer'd, That they must of Necessity go through the Country of the *Totonaques*, who would kill them, to prevent their going to *Mexico*, whereupon he order'd them to be carry'd in a Boat beyond the Limits of *Zempoala*. In the Morning, when the *Indians* miss'd the two Prisoners, they would have sacrific'd the other three that remain'd, had not *Cortes* hinder'd them, pretending to be very angry, because the two were gone, and said, that since they had given such an ill Account of them, he would secure the other three, ordering them to be carry'd in Fetters aboard the Ships, where they had them immediately taken off, and were told, they should be soon set at Liberty, which was very pleasing to them, and advis'd *Cortes* not to trust those *Zempoalans*, who were barbarous, mountaineers, revengeful Rebels, and lov'd to put their Master to trouble, as they had done at other Times. *Cortes* had them brought before him from aboard the Ship, and told them, He was sorry for the Disrespect show'd to their Master, whose Friendship he was ambitious of, and that as soon as their Companions return'd, he would set them at Liberty. The *Totonaque Indians* of that Province taking this Matter into Consideration, condemning the Disrespect show'd to *Motexuma*, advis'd to beg his Pardon in humble Manner, laying all the Blame of what had happened on the *Spaniards*, for that they ought not to despair of his Clemency. Others said, it was better to die in Defence of their Liberty, than live under such Slavery, or to expect Mercy from a King, who laid such heavy Burdens upon them, but that on the contrary they should make Use of the Favour of those

Gods, for so they call'd the *Spaniards*, to proceed in what they had undertaken, and assert their Liberty. *Moteczuma's* Tyranny was so great, that this Opinion prevail'd, and they resolv'd to pray *Cortes* to assist them, offering to die in his Service.

Cortes was highly pleas'd to see his Enterprize so well advanc'd; yet he modestly answer'd the Lord of *Zempoala*, and others, that they should seriously consider what they did, because *Moteczuma* was a potent Prince, but still, if they would stand by what they said, he would be their Leader, since it was but reasonable to defend his Friends, and love those that lov'd him, and therefore they must truly tell him, what Men could be had, and what Allies they thought would stand by them. They answer'd, that when once the War was proclaim'd, and it was known that those Gods protected them, one hundred thousand Men would take up Arms. He reply'd, that tho' he stood not in need of their Help, it would be proper nevertheless to warn them to be in a Readiness, to the End that in case the King hapned to send any Forces, they might not be surpriz'd, and if they wanted Aid they might give him timely Notice. This was so great an Encouragement, that tho' they much dreaded *Moteczuma*, being naturally of a haughty Temper, they grew bold, and sent Word through all that Country, that if the *Mexicans* began the War, they should give them Notice, and they would relieve them. All the Mountain Country took heart, and rejoyc'd, looking on it as a wonderful Providence that they should be succour'd by those who they judg'd by their Omens and Predictions were to destroy them. The Alliance was immediately proclaim'd; they promis'd Submission to the Crown of *Spain*, and thus *Cortes* promoted his Design, and to the End that *Moteczuma* might not think the Rebellion of the *Totonaques* had been his Contrivance, he, with the Consent of the Lords of *Chianhuizla*

order

order'd that the three *Mexican* Prisoners should be set at Liberty, and bid them tell the King, That tho' his Governour *Tenuhille*, had with-held his Provisions, and show'd Tokens of Enmity, he still desir'd to serve him, and to communicate some Affairs that were for his Service.

THE Arrival of such strange People was known throughout all the Country, which occasion'd much Fright and Disorder; not for Fear of losing their Lands, but because they thought the World was drawing to an End, and all human Race was to perish; and the most powerful Men sought out in the Mountains for Places of Safety to secure themselves against the Anger of the Gods, till their Wrath was appeas'd. They said, the Omens and Tokens they had seen were intended to make them amend, because those Tokens could denote nothing less than the End of the World, and therefore the People in general were very melancholy. The *Mexican* Government immediately consulted their Oracles, to know whether the *Spaniards* were Gods, and by the King's Advice, sent for a more particular Account of them, tho' by Means of his Sorceries he well knew that they were human Creatures, and had all the Affections of Men. They were much astonish'd at the Sight of a Cross-Bow and Sword that were carry'd to *Motezuma*, and much more to hear, that they had with them a Woman, like a Goddess, meaning *Marina*, by whose Means they understood the Natives; and being told, that in some little Towns they had cast down the Idols, they said, if they had been Brothers to the Gods they would not misuse them, and therefore they must be some beastly People, and the Gods would requite them. These, and such like Discourses were frequent among them, as being almost beside themselves, for in reality, the Prodigies that had been seen among them, which shall be spoken of in the proper Place, were dreadful. On the other Hand,
some

some said, they must needs be Gods, because they rode upon strange Creatures that had never been seen before. They admir'd at their Coming without any Women, except only that *Melinche*, so they call'd *Marina*, and that it was by the Help of the Gods that she understood the *Mexican* Tongue, because being a Stranger, she could not know it any other Way. They ask'd how it was possible that any human Strength could manage that Sword and Cross-Bow. Thus they made their Reflections upon all Particulars, for tho' the small Number of the *Spaniards* did not daunt them, yet they were amaz'd at their Boldness in offering to go to *Mexico*, besides other Circumstances which they admir'd. In the mean time *Cortes* made it his Business to be inform'd in all Points relating to the Country.

THE Alliance before-mention'd being concluded, *Cortes*, with the Advice of the Magistrates and Commanders, thought fit to build the Town of *Villa Rica de la vera Cruz*, on a Plain about half a League from the Town of *Chianhuitzlan*, which was in the Nature of a Fortrefs. They mark'd out a Church, Town-House, Market-Place, Arsenal, Magazines, and Plats for the private Houses, all near good Rivers, and Pasture. Orders were also given for building out of Hand a strong House, or Castle, to be made Use of upon Occasion of any Emergency in War, to defend themselves in Case of Need, and to receive Succours. All was carry'd on with the utmost Diligence, none from the highest to the lowest being exempted from the Work, for as much as it concern'd the Safety of them all. As soon as *Motexuma* was inform'd of the Imprisonment of his Tax-Gatherers, and the Rebellion of the *Totonagues*, looking upon it as the highest Affront to his Majesty, he order'd a mighty Army to be rais'd to chastise the same; but the two Prisoners arriving, and telling how they had been set at Liberty by *Cortes*, and delivering the Message he had given them,

them, he was appeas'd, and sent two Youths, his Nephews, attended by four antient Noblemen, with a great Present of Cotton Cloths, and Gold, ordering them to return Thanks to *Cortes*, for having set his Servants at Liberty, and at the same Time to exprefs how much he resented the Revolt of those Towns, under the Protection of the *Spaniards*, in Respect to whom, believing them to be the same his Forefathers had said should come into his Dominions, and that they were of his own Lineage, he did not send to destroy those Rebels, because they were in their Houses; but that they should have Time to repent them of their Disrespect. *Cortes* receiv'd the Present, which was worth two thousand Pieces of Eight, and said, he and all his Brethren were very much the King's Servants, tho' he was concern'd at the ill Behaviour of the King's Ministers towards them, in forsaking them, and cutting off their Provisions, without any Cause, or so much as taking their Leave; which he did not think could be done by Order of so great a Prince; that the Want of Provisions had oblig'd them to repair to those Towns, where they had been well receiv'd, and therefore he entreated him to forgive them, and not to be offended at their forbearing to pay him the Tribute, because they could not serve two Masters; and since he and all his Brethren design'd very speedily to go kiss his Hands, Orders should be taken for his Service. He gave the Youths, and the other Gentlemen some Presents of such Things as he had, and order'd the Horsemen to skirmish in the Meadows, which was very agreeable to the *Mexicans*, and the *Totonaques* were no less pleas'd to see that instead of the War they expected from *Moteczuma*, he sent an Embassy and Presents to *Cortes*, which made them have a great Conceit of him. Here his Horse dy'd, and he bought a brown chesnut Horse that prov'd extraordinary good, and belong'd to *Ortiz*, the Musician, and *Bartholomew Garcia*, for Horses were

were then so scarce that two Men kept one between them.

SOON after the *Mexicans* were gone, the Lord of *Zempoala*, and other prime Persons went to *Cortes*, to acquaint him, that a great Number of Men was drawing together in a strong Town call'd *Zimpanzingo*, where there was a Garison of *Culias*, with a Design to come and destroy their Corn, and did them much Harm. He being importun'd, and having promis'd to assist and protect them, turn'd to such of his own People as were about him, and said, That since they look'd upon them as Gods, in that Country, he would send old *Heredia*, who had an ill Countenance, a long Beard, a Scar a-cross his Face, and but one Eye. He order'd him to advance along the Road to *Zimpanzingo*, to the River that was near it, firing his Musket by the Way, and there he would send to call him. He did so, and the *Indians* follow'd him full of Amazement, and well satisfy'd, thinking that he alone was sufficient against all their Enemies. When they were come to the River, *Cortes* order'd them to be call'd, and said, he would march himself, with all his Brethren against the *Culias*, to show the Kindness he had for them. He order'd the Artillery and the Men to be in Readiness, and the Corporals commanding some Soldiers of the Faction of *James Velasquez* to their Posts, they declar'd in haughty Manner, that they would not march upon any Expedition, for they had lost enough by being deluded away from their Houses by *Cortes*, and since he had offer'd them Leave and Accommodation to return Home, they demanded it. These were seven in Number, whom he call'd to him, and ask'd, Why they acted so basely? They answer'd boldly, That they admir'd he would pretend to settle with so small a Number of Men in so populous a Country; that they were weary with rambling about, and sickly, and therefore he should give them leave to go to their

their own Homes, as he had promis'd. He reply'd, It was true he had promis'd, but that they were in the wrong in quitting their Colours, but since they desir'd it, they might go immediately; appointed them a Ship, gave them Cazabi Bread, a Jar of Oyl, and some Pulse, and one of these Soldiers, whose Name was *Moron*, sold his Horse to *John Ruano*. When these Soldiers were aboard, and ready to sail, as was said, at the Instigation of *Cortes*, the Alcaldes, Regidores, and several others repair'd to him, and in the King's Name requir'd him, not to give Leave to, or permit those Men to go away; because it was not convenient to suffer any to depart, when they were in a Country that was full of such warlike People; but that on the contrary, it was a Crime that deserv'd Death to desert from their Colours at such a Time. Tho' *Cortes* was first much importun'd, pretending not to comply, he at length revok'd the Licence, and those Men were disappointed, and *Moron* left without a Horse, for *John Ruano* would not restore him, because he had been fairly sold.

THE Disturbance occasion'd by those that would return to *Cuba* being quell'd, *Cortes* march'd with all his Forces to the Assistance of the *Totonaques*, advancing first to *Zempoala*, where two thousand Men were ready in Arms, divided into four Parcels, to join the *Spaniards*. They march'd five Leagues the first Day to some Houses near the Town, and resolv'd to proceed into it immediately; and as they began to enter the strong streets, lying among Rocks and Cliffs, eight Priests and prime *Indians* came out to them, in peaceable Manner, lamenting, and asking *Cortes*, why he would kill and destroy them, without any Provocation, and begging, that since it was reported of him that he deliver'd the oppress'd, he would do them no Harm; desiring it was true they were at Variance with the *Zempoalans*,

poalans, on Account of their Borders; but that there were then none of the *Culias* in their Town, that they were ready to serve him, and begg'd he would not hurt them. *Cortes* order'd *Christopher de Olid*, the Colonel, to take Care that the *Zempoalans* did no Harm, and tho' he lost no Time, they were already plundering the first Mansions they came to, which *Cortes* was concern'd at. He order'd their Captains to be call'd, commanded them to restore all that had been taken, and reprov'd them, for having drawn him thither fraudulently, in order to take those People, with his Assistance, to sacrifice them, for which they deserv'd Death; for that the great King of *Spain* had not sent him to commit Outrages; and that for the future they should take Care not to give him any false Relations, or practise any such Methods, which would cost them their Lives. The Goods that had been plunder'd, and the Prisoners taken, being restor'd, *Cortes* again charg'd the *Zempoalans* to behave themselves peaceably, and told the Inhabitants, that his King was wont to govern his Subjects after that Manner, and if they design'd to be such, they must in the first Place forbear sacrificing Men, committing Sodomy, eating human Flesh, and other Abominations they were guilty of; and believing in one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, cast down their Idols, which were the Invention of the Devil, who kept them so long in their Error, when God in his Mercy, gave them the Opportunity of Opening their Eyes, having for his unsearchable Judgments permitted them to continue till then in Blindness.

THOSE *Indians* observing how uprightly *Cortes* acted, were very well satisfy'd, call'd in the People of other Towns, and acquainting them with all that was doing, they submitted themselves to the Crown of *Spain*, and became its Subjects. *Cortes* summon'd the Commanders of the *Zempoalans*, who were with his Men in the

Camp,

Camp, and told them, that since they were all Subjects to the King of *Spain*, they ought to be Friends, and to live for the future in Peace and Unity. They promis'd so to do, and were well pleas'd to be deliver'd from the Yoke of *Moteczuma*, those People making the same Complaints against him and his Soldiers as the *Zempoalans* had done, and then he return'd to *Zempoala* a different Way from that he came. The Troops pass'd by two Towns of those that were newly enter'd into the Confederacy, and whilst they were resting in the Afternoon, a Soldier, whose Name was *Mora*, born at *Ciudad Rodrigo*, took two Hens, so that *Cortes* saw it, and was so angry, both because it was done in his Presence, and in regard that he would have his Soldiers to observe Discipline, that he order'd him to be hang'd, and had not *Peter de Alvarado* cut him down with his Sword, he had actually dy'd, he dropp'd down half choak'd, and some time after was kill'd in Fight at *Guatemala*. The Lord himself was near *Zempoala* in some Cottages, waiting for *Cortes* with Provisions, and in Fear on Account of having made him undertake that Journey upon a false Relation, for they were not so barbarous as not to be sensible that *Cortes* made good his Assertion, that he was sent to maintain Justice, which gain'd him much Reputation; and for as much as the Dread of *Moteczuma* made them uneasy, they could have wish'd, that for their greater Security, the *Spaniards* had never departed out of their Town; for which Reason they said, that since they were now all the same, for the faster Knitting of their Friendship, they should take their Daughters to breed on, and carry'd them eight beautiful Damsels, Daughters of Prime Men, well clad, with Gold Necklaces, and Pendants in their Ears, with Women Servants, the Cazi-que saying, that seven of them were for the Captains, and the other, being his Niece, for *Cortes*. He with

much Gravity and Eloquence told him, “ That to the
 “ End the Union and Amity between them should
 “ be permanent, it was requisite they should in the
 “ first Place reform their Abuses, and leave off those
 “ Abominations they practis’d, offering the Lives of
 “ innocent Persons in Sacrifice to the Devil, and eating
 “ their Flesh, which was odious in the Sight of God
 “ and Man; and therefore it was the Divine Will,
 “ that they should open their Eyes to be sensible of
 “ the Errors they liv’d in, and then they would wil-
 “ lingly accept of those Maids, provided that they
 “ were Christians, because it was not lawful for the
 “ Sons of the Church of God to have to do with
 “ Idolaters.” The Heathen Priests, and chief Men
 that were present, answer’d, That those Gods they
 ador’d had always given them Health, good Harvests,
 and all they stood in Need of, for which reason they
 could not forsake them, tho’ they approv’d of Reform-
 ing Vice. The *Spanish* Soldiers unanimously cry’d out,
 that they could not bear with the Inhumanities those
 harden’d Idolaters daily practis’d in their Sight, and
 therefore they ought in the first Place to assert the Ho-
 nour of God, which was the principal Motive of send-
 ing them thither, upon which Account they were ready
 to lay down their Lives.

Cortes having commended the *Spaniards* for their pious
 Resolution, and quoted some Texts of Scripture in
 Defence of it, said, It was proper first to try, whether
 that could be brought about by fair Means, and in
 case the *Indians* did not comply, since he had the Ho-
 nour to command such zealous Christians, he would be
 the willinger to die first for so good a Cause. The *In-
 dians* were very uneasy at this Proposal of the Christi-
 ans, and *Cortes* drawing near, the Lord of *Zempoala*,
 with other Priests and Noblemen, told him, That if
 such an Indignity were offer’d to their Gods, they
 would

would all perish. *Cortes* laughing at it, answer'd, that to undeceive them of their Error, he would run the Hazard of all that Danger; and cause the Idols to be cast down, and as for them they should take heed not to make any Opposition, as he heard there was some Muttering among them, for the Idols would certainly be destroy'd, and they severely punish'd. This being resolv'd, by the Interposition of *Marina*, who was an excellent Interpreter; the *Indians* still reply'd, That as for themselves they were not worthy to touch their Gods, but if *Cortes* still persisted in casting them down, they protested it should be without their Consent. Hereupon about fifty Soldiers chearfully stepp'd out of their Ranks, and praising God, threw down those hideous Figures of Dragons, Tygers, and Bears, with human Bodies. The *Indians* lamented, hid their Eyes, and said they had no Hand in it. The Report hereof spread through the whole Town, and a vast Number of arm'd Men came out, whereupon *Cortes* order'd the Cazique of *Zempoala*, the Priests and chief Men to be secur'd, and told them, they should all dye, if they made the least Disturbance, the *Spaniards* being ready to execute the Orders of their Commander; but the Lord commanded them all to be quiet.

ALL being perform'd as has been said, *Cortes* order'd the Idols to be thrown away, and the Priests, whom in their Language they call'd *Papas*, and who wore long black Cloaks with Hoods to them, like Capes, with other short ones, like *Dominican* Friars, took and carry'd them away. Those Men were much respected, on Account of their Dignity, and because they were Noblemen, and marry'd. *Cortes* then, by Means of the Interpreters told the Priests, and great Men, that he now look'd upon them as his Brothers, and pursuant to it again promis'd to defend them against *Moteczuma*, and all the World, and commanded them

not to pay him any more Tribute ; and since there were to be no more Idols in the Temples, it was proper there should begin to be some Show of Christianity, and Means us'd for the Salvation of Souls. He order'd *Indian* Plaisterers to come and take off from the Walls the Crusts that were on them of human Blood from the Sacrifices that had been offer'd, and other Filth, and to cleanse them, especially the greatest of the Temples where that was practis'd. The next Day all was clean, and plaister'd over, and an Altar erected, adorn'd with rich Cloths, Boughs, and Flowers. The Heathen Priests were also oblig'd to cut their Hair, and cleanse themselves, for they wore it very long, twisted, and daub'd with the Blood that flew from the Sacrifices, and which they drew from their own Ears, and to wear Garments of white Cloth. Then *Cortes* bid them observe, how much Christian Piety was to be preferr'd before their former Cruelties, and how much more agreeable it was to Decency and Reason; for that God abhorr'd Sodomy, and the other Vices which they themselves had offer'd to reform, as well as the Cruelty of Shedding of human Blood without any Cause, which occasion'd all that Filth, and Stench, which they had cleans'd, so that their own Persons, and those of their Children and Friends would be secur'd from that Sort of Death, for God would not have any to be destroy'd, but that they should all live to praise and glorify him ; for it was he alone that gave them Life, Health, and Victory against their Enemies, good Harvests, and all other spiritual and temporal Blessings; and they were to observe, that he had lov'd Mankind to such a Degree, as to come into the World for our Salvation, and to take Flesh in the Virgin Womb of a Lady, whose Resemblance all the Catholick Church honour'd and respected. That he would cause the same to be set upon the Altar, and by her Intercession they might expect

pest greater Blessings than ever were to be hop'd for from their Idols. When all Things were made ready, a Cross was erected on the Altar, and an old Soldier call'd *John de Torres* appointed to stay and attend the Service of the Place, and instruct the *Indians*, there being no better Conveniency at that Time. *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo* sung Mass, some Soldiers who had Skill serving, and the eight *Indian* Maids were baptiz'd, *Cortes* keeping the Cazique's Niece, who was call'd *Catherine*, and distributing the rest among the Gentlemen, who carry'd them where they went, at which the *Indians* were well pleas'd, and ever after continu'd good Friends to the *Spaniards*.

Cortes having thus establish'd Friendship with the *Zempoalans*, march'd away to his new Colony of *Villa Rica*, and the same Day he came to it a Ship arriv'd from *Cuba*, commanded by *Francis de Salcedo*, surnam'd *el Polido*, or the Spruce. This Ship brought Captain *Lewis Marin*, with a Mare, and ten Solders, and *Salcedo* had a good Horse. These Persons brought Advice, that *James Velasquez* had receiv'd the Title of *Adelantado*, and the King's Commission to trade, and make Settlements in the new discover'd Countries that had been granted him. These Forces having been now three Months in *New-Spain*, and the Fort almost made defensible, it was consulted how to proceed, and propos'd to go up the Country to try Fortune; but it was resolv'd in the first Place to send some Persons to the King, to give an Account of what had been done in his Service, and carry him the fifth of the Gold, and all the Rest that had been given. *Alonso Hernandez Puerto Carrero*, and *Francis de Montejo* were pitch'd upon to go on this Errand; and *Cortes* thinking that what he had was very little, when every Officer and Soldier had his Share, and that the King's fifth being accordingly inconsiderable, it would not answer the Account they

they were to give of the Wealth of that Country, he order'd *Francis de Montejo*, and *James de Ordas*, that they as Men in Authority, should speak to all the Soldiers Man by Man, and perswade them to resign their Shares, to be sent to the King as a Present, many of the Gentlemen to whom the same had been propos'd freely offering to do the like. They readily consented, and all that had been got was converted into a Present, for *Cortes* would not deduct his own fifth, nor any Expences, to avoid any breaking Bulk, only taking so much out of the whole Sum, as was necessary for the Expence of the Voyage. and to maintain the Messengers going and coming, besides something *Cortes* sent to his Father *Martin Cortes*. He gave those Deputies ample Power and Instructions, with a particular Relation of all he had done, both at *Cuba* and in *New-Spain*. He likewise writ a very long Letter to the King, taking Notice in it of the Difference with *James Velasquez*, the Disturbances occasion'd among the Men by his Partisans; the Fatigues they had all gone through; how ready they were to proceed; the vast Extent and Wealth of that Country; the Hopes he had conceiv'd of reducing it under his Obedience, and begging he would not forget him when any Commissions were given out for that Country. The Magistrates of *Vera Cruz* writ another Letter, representing the Service they had done his Majesty; the Reason they had for making that Settlement, and their Sufferings. The Captains writ another to the same Effect, as did the Soldiers of most Note, promising to defend that Town at the Expence of their Lives, unless otherwise commanded by his Majesty, and all of them most humbly intreated the King, to bestow the Government of that Country, and others that should be by them discover'd and subdu'd, upon *Ferdinand Cortes*, whom they had chosen for their Commander, to prevent Disputes, and

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and because no Man was more capable of serving his Majesty, and that in case another had been appointed, that his Commission might be call'd in question, and that his Majesty would be pleas'd speedily to answer and dispatch their Deputies. *Cortes* gave them the best Ship, and appointed *Antony de Alaminos* their Pilot, designing in order to avoid coming near *Cuba* to sail thro' the Channel of *Bahama*, and he was the most skilful Pilot in that Sea. They sail'd on the 26th of *July* this Year 1519, with fifteen Sailors, and touching at *Marien* in *Cuba*, proceeded to the *Havana*, pass'd the Channel of *Bahama*, and had a good Voyage to *Spain*, being the first that ever sail'd that Way, to avoid falling into the Hands of *James Velasquez*. *Antony de Alaminos* took this Resolution, being well acquainted with the *Lucayo* Islands, and the Coast of *Florida*, and concluding that those Currents must end somewhere, and accordingly he stood to the Northward, and it prov'd well, for being got safe out of the Channel, he came into the open Sea, and arriv'd safe at *Sanlucar* in *October*. The Clergyman *Benedict Martin*, was then at *Sevil*, in order to carry over the King's Dispatches to *James Velasquez* at *Cuba*. He informing the Officers of the *India* House, that those Deputies were out of the King's Service, they seiz'd all that was in the Ship, together with the three thousand Castellanos they had for their Expences, and what *Cortes* sent his Father. The Present for the King was sent to him to *Valladolid*, and Advice given to the Bishop of *Burgos*, who was fitting out the Fleet to carry his Majesty over to *Flanders*, with Complaints against *Cortes* for having revolted from *James Velasquez*. The Deputies, with the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos*, and *Cortes's* Father went away to meet the King at *Tordesillas*.

WHEN the Deputies were gone from *Vera Cruz*, some Servants and Friends of *James Velasquez*, and

with them the Clergyman *F. John Diaz*, being uneasy upon several Accounts, agreed among themselves to steal a small Vessel, and sail away to *Cuba*, to acquaint *James Velasquez* with what was doing; but when they had got the Ship ready, and were going to embark in the Night, *Bernardin de Coria*, one of the Gang, repented and gave Notice of it to *Cortes*, who immediately order'd the Sails to be taken from the Ships, and the Fugitives to be secur'd, who own'd the Truth, accusing some Persons of more Note than themselves, with whom, *Cortes* considering his Circumstances, was forc'd to connive. However he, with much seeming Sorrow condemn'd *James Escudero*, the Alguazil who had seiz'd him in *Cuba*, as has been said before, to be hang'd, and with him *James Cermeño*, a Man so active, that with only a Spear in his Hand he would leap over another Spear held up at Arm's Length by the tallest Man in the Army, and had so quick a Scent, that he smelt Land at above fifteen Leagues Distance out at Sea. Another had one Foot cut off, and two were whipp'd. He would not punish several others, nor *F. John Diaz*, because he was a Clergyman, and thus *Cortes* made himself to be fear'd and honour'd, and as soon as he had sign'd the Warrant for Execution, to prevent its being obstructed by Intreaties, he went away to *Zempoala*, where he appointed *Peter de Alvarado* to meet him, he being gone with two hundred Men to the Mountain Towns for Provisions, which grew scarce among the Troops; designing there to treat of the March to *Mexico*, the Soldiers being desirous of it, *Cortes* putting them in Hopes that they would be there enrich'd, by which Means he gain'd their Affections, and kept them in Awe.

THE March to *Mexico* being under Deliberation at *Zempoala*, *Cortes* resolv'd to sink all his Ships, to deprive the Favourers of *James Velasquez* of all Hopes
of

of returning to *Cuba*, because there were so many of them, that if they went away, they would much diminish his Forces; and at the same Time to add Resolution to the Rest, who finding themselves in that vast populous Country without any Possibility of getting off, would be necessitated to follow and obey him, and to trust only to their Valour. However lest this should occasion some Disturbance among the Men, he contriv'd, that the Soldiers who were his most steadfast Friends should ask it of him, perswading them to it with several Arguments, and among the rest, that the Mariners being an hundred Men, they would be a great Help to the Soldiers, and bear Part of all their Fatigues, mounting Guards, standing Sentinels, &c. The Soldiers accordingly ask'd it of him, and a publick Instrument was made of the same by a Notary, tho' it was thought that there was another Piece of Subtily in this Management, which was his not being left alone under the Obligation of paying for the Ships, but that the whole Army should pay for them. This done he order'd *John de Escalante* the chief Alguazil, to repair to *Villa Rica*, and to bring ashore from aboard the Ships the Anchors, Iron-Work, Sails, and all that might be of any Use, and then to sink them all, except the Boats, and that the Mariners who were aged, or disabled, and unfit for Service should stay in the Town. *John de Escalante*, who was a very diligent Man, perform'd it with much Expedition, and return'd to *Zemala* with the ablest of the Seamen, many of whom prov'd very good Soldiers,

The End of the Third Book.

H h 2

THE



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

*Cortes proclaims his March for Mexico ;
leaves John de Escalante at Villa Rica ;
what hapned with the Men of a Ship
that arriv'd there ; he sets out on that
Enterprize ; takes the Way of Tlascala ;
Manner of Embassies there ; Otomies routed*



HE March to *Mexico* being agreed on, and
publish'd, when it was known that *John de
Escalante* had destroy'd the Ships, some of
the Soldiers began to mutter. This was one
of the most difficult Streights *Cortes* was brought into
but he was so discreet, that he gain'd, and brought
over

over to his Beck some by fair Promises himself, and others by the Means of third Persons, and thus they began to prepare for the March to *Mexico*. He then sent for the Lord of *Zempoala*, and charg'd him, " To keep the Churches very clean, and cause the due Respect to be paid to them ; adding, That he was going with his Brethren to *Mexico*, to put an End to *Moteczuma's* sacrificing Men, shedding human Blood, and proceeding in his tyrannical Government ; that he had occasion for about two hundred *Tamemes*, or Carriers of Burdens, and some fighting Men." He also summon'd the Lords of the Mountain Country, and confederate Towns, and told them, " That they were to furnish Men for finishing of the Church, the Fort, and other Structures at *Villa Rica*, and to supply the Soldiers that were left behind with Provisions ;" Then taking *John de Escalante* by the Hand, he said, " This is my Brother, and you are to do what he orders, and if the *Mexican* Soldiers are troublesome, he will assist you." They all very willingly promis'd to obey his Commands, and then persum'd *John de Escalante* with Gum Anime, as their Commander. *Cortes* made a good Choice in him, because he was a discreet Man, fit for any Business, and much devoted to him, for which Reason he gave him that Employment, that he might be safe, in case any thing were attempted by *James Velasquez*, during his Absence.

WHEN *Cortes* had thus dispos'd his Affairs in order to march to *Mexico*, Advice was brought from *Villa Rica*, that there were some Ships on the Coast, which a little alarm'd him, because it might be some Hindrance to his Enterprize, and therefore he resolv'd to return to that Town, that in case any thing were design'd against him, he might the better defend himself, when his Forces were all together, and he present, As soon as arriv'd,

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riv'd, he was inform'd, that the Chief Alguazil
John de Escalante, who had gone out to know, who
 those were, sent Word it was a Ship come from
 the Northward, having run along the Coast of
Panuco, and barter'd for Provisions, and about the
 Value of three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold;
 that the Men did not like that Country; that they
 were sent by *Francis de Garay*, from *Jamaica*, un-
 der the Command of Captain *Alonso Alvarez Pineda*;
 and that tho' he had sent a Boat to invite him to come
 to an Anchor in the Port, and refresh himself, he
 would not do it. Hereupon *Cortes* resolv'd to advance
 with a Number of Men towards the Place where the
 Ship lay, being desirous to know upon what Design
 it came thither, since it was not possible that *Francis*
de Garay should be ignorant of his coming into those
 Parts. When he had march'd about a League from the
 Town, he met three *Spaniards*, one of whom said he
 was a Notary, and the other two Witneses, to notify
 to him something which they had in Writing, and re-
 quire him to part the Country with *Francis de Garay*,
 laying down Land Marks in proper Places, because he
 claim'd that Conquest, as first Discoverer, and design'd
 to settle a Colony on that Coast, twenty Leagues to
 the Westward, near *Nautlam*, which was afterwards
 call'd *Almeria*. *Cortes* mildly told them, that before
 they notify'd any thing to him, they must return to
 the Ships, and desire the Captain to repair to *Vera Cruz*,
 where they would discourse on that Subject, and his
 Meaning would be better understood, besides that, if
 he was in Want of any thing, they might be supply'd.
 They answer'd, that no Man would come ashore.
Francis Lopez de Gomara seems to intimate, that *Francis*
de Garay was there himself, and that there were more
 Ships than one; but *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, as an
 Eye Witness, and others that were present, do deny
Garay's

Garay's being present, affirming that *Alonso Alvarez Pineda* came in his stead, and that there was but one Ship. *Cortes* secur'd the Notary and his Witnesses, and lay himself in Ambush behind a Sand Hill, there being many on that Shore, where he stay'd that Night, and waited a great Part of the next Day, to observe whether any Body came ashore. None appearing, he order'd three of his Men to change Cloaths with those that belong'd to *Garay*, and to make a West to the Ship, whence they immediately sent the Boat, with twelve Men, arm'd with Cross-Bows, and Muskets. *Cortes's* Men to prevent being known went aside under the Shade of some Trees. They in the Boat sent ashore two Cross-Bow Men, two Musketeers, and an *Indian*, who made towards the Trees, thinking those three that were in the Shade had been their Men. *Cortes* immediately rush'd out, and seiz'd those five, before they could return to the Boat, tho' they pretended to stand upon their Defence, and one of them presented his Piece at Captain *John de Escalante*, but it miss'd Fire. Those in the Boat finding they were impos'd upon, return'd to their Ship, and sail'd away, so that *Cortes* was eas'd of that Trouble by his Diligence in applying the Remedy. The seven Men belonging to *Garay* inform'd him, that they had sail'd far along the Shore in Quest of *Florida*, and touch'd at a River, and Province whose Lord was call'd *Panuco*, where they found some Gold, but little, and barter'd, without going ashore, for the Value of three thousand Pieces of Eight, and a considerable Quantity of Provisions; but that they had lik'd nothing in those Parts they had seen.

Cortes then return'd to *Zempoala*, resolving to lose no Time before he set out for *Mexico*. The *Tamemes*, or Men to carry Burdens, being ready, with the Baggage, and Artillery, as also the Gentlemen of *Zempoala*,
and

and those of the Mountain Towns, whom under the Colour of Supplies, he took along with him as Hostages, leaving a Page of his own of the Age of twelve Years, with the Lord of *Zempoala*, to learn the Language, he set forward on the 16th of *August*, the Lord, and several other Prime Persons waiting on him, of whom he took leave at a small Distance from the Town, in a very affectionate Manner, and with Tokens of an entire Confidence in them. The *Indians* wept, considering the Danger they were going into, tho' they rely'd on the Valour of the *Spaniards*, who were four hundred in Number, besides fifteen or sixteen Horsemen, and six small Pieces of Cannon, with the Ammunition belonging to them. The March began in good Order; they arriv'd the first Day at *Xalapa*, and thence proceeded to another Town, which being both confederate with *Zempoala*, made them a good Reception. There *Cortes* told them, he was sent by the King of *Spain*, to admonish them to give over sacrificing of Men, and following the other wicked Courses they were guilty of, and to live in Peace, and Justice, and to chastise Tyrants. He erected a Cross in every Town, ordering them to pay respect to it, for, as they should be afterwards better inform'd, through that holy Emblem they were to expect all Happiness in this World, and in the next. He proceeded to *Texcala*, still of the same Confederacy, where he spoke to the same Effect to the Heads of the People. and they entertain'd him affectionately. Here for Want of Care a little Colt that follow'd the Mares was left behind, and about a Year and a half after, they found him grown a good Horse, among a Herd of Deer, with whom he had always associated, as the *Indians* affirm'd. They then came into the Desert Country, where they met with much Cold, Hail, and Rain, a sharp Wind blowing from the snowy Mountains. All the Men
endur'd

endur'd very much, for there was also Want of Provisions. They march'd through another Pass, where there were Country Houses, small Places of Worship with Idols, and great Piles of Wood ready cut for the Service of the Temples. The Cold continu'd, and there was still very small Store of Provisions, which the Men bore with wonderful Patience, tho' the Cold pinch'd them, because they were thin clad, and us'd to the temperate Climate of *Cuba*, *Zempoala*, and the Sea Coast.

THEY next came into the Territory of a Town call'd *Zocotlan*, subject to the King of *Mexico*. *Cortes* sent two *Zempoalans* before, to desire those People in his Name, that they would be pleas'd to quarter his Forces, and at the same Time held them in a Readiness for all Events, because this was now a different Sort of Country from the former. When they came in Sight of the Town, the Terrasses on the Houses, the Lord's Palace, and the Towers of the Temples were very white; and because they made a good Appearance, and a *Portuguese* Soldier, said, that was like the Town of *Castel Blanco* in *Portugal*, they gave it that Name. The Lord was call'd *Olinteil*, whom the *Spaniards* nicknam'd the Trembler, or Quaker, because he was very fat. The two strongest young Gentlemen in his Family led him by the Arms. He order'd the Men to have Provisions given them, but not plentifully, nor with a good Will. *Cortes* by Means of his Interpreters, who daily grew more expert; talk'd to him, as he was wont to do to the others, and he was pleas'd to hear those Things which were so strange to him. *Cortes* observing with what State he was serv'd, ask'd him, whether he was a Confederate or Subject to the King of *Mexico*. He answer'd, asking, Who was not a Slave to *Motexuma*? *Cortes* reply'd, That beyond the Sea there was a greater Sovereign, being the King

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Of *Spain*, whom many Princes serv'd, that he himself was one of the meanest Subjects he had, and that the Lord ought to submit himself, and give some Demonstration that he did so. He rejoyn'd, he would do nothing but what *Motexuma* should command him. *Cortes* did not think fit to carry on this Discourse any farther, looking upon that Lord and his People as Men of Resolution; but desir'd he would tell him something of *Motexuma's* Grandeur. The Lord said, " He was
 " Sovereign over many Kings, that there was not the
 " like of him in the World; that many Lords serv'd
 " him in his Palace barefooted, with their Eyes fix'd
 " on the Ground; that there were thirty Subjects in
 " his Empire, every one of which had one hundred
 " thousand fighting Men; that he every Year sacrific'd twenty thousand Men in his Dominions, and
 " some Years fifty thousand; that he resided in the
 " largest, the most beautiful, and the strongest City
 " in the Universe, being built in the Water, and having above fifty thousand *Acales*, so the *Mexicans*
 " call'd the Canoes, for the Service of it; that his Palace and Court was very great, noble, and generous;
 " that many Princes of all the Country round about
 " continually resorted to it to serve him; that his
 " Wealth and Revenues were incredible, because none
 " tho' ever so great was exempt from paying Tribute
 " to him, nor any so poor as not to give something,
 " tho' it were only some Blood from his Arm; that
 " his Expences were prodigious, because besides those
 " of his Household, he had continual Wars, and maintain'd great Armies."

As the Relation of this Grandeur daunted some, reflecting how inconsiderable their Forces were, so it rejoyc'd *Cortes*, who very well knew how to turn all Things to his own Advantage. Accordingly he said to his People, That, in order to be great themselves,

they

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they look'd for Grandeur, not for Poverty, and that he prais'd God, that the Accounts he had, and the Pains he had taken to be well inform'd of what *Mexico* was, and what might be expected from it, had not prov'd vain, or frivolous. Two Lords of the adjacent Parts came, and each of them presented *Cortes* with four Women Slaves, and two Gold Collars of no great Value. He return'd them Thanks, and they departed. *Olintel* was Lord of twenty thousand People, had thirty Wives in his House, and above one hundred Women to wait on them, and two thousand Servants, The Town was large, and contain'd thirteen Temples and Places of Worship, with abundance of Idols made of Stone, of divers Shapes, to whom they apply'd upon several Occasions. They sacrific'd to them Men, Women, Children, Doves, Turtles, and other Things, burning many Sweets, with great Veneration. *Moteczuma* had five thousand Men in Garison in this Town, and its Territory; and Men were ready two and two, at small Distances all the Way to *Mexico*, being Foot Posts, to carry an Account of all Things that hapned. *Cortes* was now thoroughly confirm'd in the Notion he had conceiv'd of the Grandeur of *Moteczuma*, and tho' some about him were always giving Hints of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Danger he expos'd himself to, he never show'd the least Hesitation, or Wavering; but on the contrary, with an undaunted Mind and Intrepidity encourag'd his People, solving all Difficulties, and assuring them of the Success, with as much Firmness, as if he had it in his Power, foreseeing all Exigencies with wondrous Sagacity and Discretion. *Olintel* seem'd to grow better affected, and made more plentiful Provision for the Men upon the Discourse he had with *Cortes*, tho' he said, he knew not whether *Moteczuma* would be displeas'd at his having entertain'd them without his Leave. *Cortes* find-

ing him more courteous, began to talk of some Matters of Religion, and would have had a Cross erected, as had been done in the other Towns ; but *F. Olmedo* did not think it proper, for Fear of some Irreverence, till they were better inform'd in Point of Religion. *Francis de Lugo*, a Man of Note, had with him a very large Greyhound that bark'd very much in the Night. The Gentlemen of that Town ask'd those of *Zempoala*, whether that was a Tyger, or a Lion, or other Beast to kill Men ; they answer'd, it was a Beast under good Command, and did bite and kill whensoever the Master pleas'd. They told them, that the great Guns kill'd whom they would with some Stones they threw into them ; and that the Horses ran like Stags, and overtook whom they pleas'd, none being able to escape them ; that those were the Men who conquer'd the People of *Tabasco*, threw down their Idols, and made them Friends with their Neighbours ; that *Moteczuma* had sent them Presents, because he look'd upon them as Gods, and therefore they wonder'd why *Olintetl* made them no Present ; whereupon he immediately sent *Cortes* four Head Ornaments, three Collars, and some Lizards all of Gold, a Load of Cotton Cloth, and four Women Slaves, which were taken to make Bread. In this Town there was a Charnel, containing Abundance of Skuls and Bones of Men that had been sacrific'd, as was afterwards seen in all other Towns, after the same Manner as at *Mexico*, which shall be describ'd in its Place.

Cortes stay'd nine Days with *Olintetl*, to rest his Men, and having given him a Present of his Toys, which was much valu'd, began to consult, which Way he should travel to *Mexico*. *Olintetl* said the best and plainest Way would be through a Town call'd *Cholula*. The *Zempoalans* oppos'd it, alledging that those People were very treacherous, and had always

Garisons

Garifons belonging to *Motexuma*; whereas the *Tlascallans* were his Enemies, and good People, for which Reason that would be the better Way. *Cortes* demanded of the Lord twenty Soldiers to be his Guides, as being well acquainted with the Country; which were readily given, and with them he set out towards *Tlascala*. As soon as he came to a Town call'd *Xacacingo*, he sent four *Zempoalans* to *Tlascala* with a Letter, and a *Flemish* red woolly Hat, and tho' he was sensible that they understood not the Letter, he thought they would at least conclude it to be a Message, that they might not do any Harm to the Messengers; for it was known, that the *Tlascallans*, being inform'd that the *Spaniards* were marching towards them, and that they brought with them some *Indians* that were Tributaries to *Motexuma*, as the *Zempoalans*, and those of *Olintel*, had taken up Arms. *Cortes* order'd the Messengers to tell the Gentlemen of *Tlascala*, that he had been inform'd by the Lord of *Zempoala*, and the neighbouring Towns, his Friends and Confederates, of the bloody Wars they had so justly wag'd with *Motexuma*, who had done them many Wrongs; that he was sent by a very mighty Prince, in the first Place to bring them to the Knowledge of the true God, and at the same Time to deliver them from the Oppression of the *Mexican Cuiñas*; that he sent them that Hat, and with it a Sword, and a Cross-Bow, that they might see with what powerful Weapons he design'd to assist them. This he did because he had heard how much a Cross-Bow, and other *Spanish* Weapons had been admir'd at *Mexico*. *Cortes* sent this Embassy by the Advice of the *Zempoalans*, who said, the *Tlascallans* were numerous, and very warlike, Enemies to *Motexuma*, and would easily be brought into the Confederacy of the *Totonagues*. *Cortes* thought not proper to omit this Message, since he hazarded nothing in so doing, and

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and had till then found the *Zempoalans* sincere; and at this Place he began to be more fully inform'd of the Affairs of *Tlascala*.

THE Messengers came to *Tlascala*, carrying the usual Token by which those were known who went upon an Embassy. They gave Notice at the Gate, were receiv'd there, and conducted to the Town-House, where Meat was given them. The Council met, the *Zempoalans* were call'd in, and order'd to speak. When they had made the usual Compliments to the Council, one of them deliver'd himself thus. "Very valiant
"and great Lords, and noble Gentlemen, the Gods
"preserve, and give you Victory against your Enemies; the Lord of *Zempoala*, and the *Totonagues*
"recommend themselves to you, and acquaint you,
"that certain *Tenks* of great Strength and Courage are
"arriv'd there from the Eastern Parts, in very large
"*Acales*, who have assisted, and set them at Liberty
"against *Motezuma's* Forces. They say they are Subjects of a potent King; that they will pay you a
"Visit from him; that they bring you the true God,
"will assist you against your antient and mortal Enemy, and that you may be sensible of their Strength,
"we bring you these Arms, and this Letter, and Token. Our *Zempoalans* say it will be convenient for
"you to make them your Friends, because tho' they
"are but few in Number, they are worth many." Having receiv'd the Hat, the Letter, and the Arms, *Maxicatzin*, one of the Lords of the Republick, bid them sit down, and said they were welcome, that they thank'd the *Totonagues* for their Advice, and were glad of their Liberty; that they were also thankful to that great *Tenle* for his good Will and Present; that as for them they might rest and divert themselves, because it requir'd Time for them to come to a Resolution. Hereupon the *Zempoalans* withdrew, abundance
has of

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of People flocking thither to enquire what they came about; and they recounting what they had seen of the Valour of the *Spaniards*, of their Behaviour, and their Weapons, describing the Horses, and all the Rest, and magnifying every Thing, all those People were amaz'd, and more especially such as compar'd those Things with the Prophecies they had, and in regard that some Prodigies had lately hapned, as Earthquakes, Comets which ran across the Sky, and the Falling of some Idols, which frightened and afflicted them, and therefore they had much Recourse to Sacrifices.

THE Lords of the Commonwealth being left by themselves, when they had paid the Compliments us'd in that Country, *Maxiscatzin*, a Man of much Wisdom, sedate, noble, and well belov'd, made a very eloquent Speech, advising to receive the *Spaniards* in friendly Manner; but *Xicotencatl*, who was General of the Army, was for opposing them.

THIS Diversity of Opinions occasion'd much Muttering, the Traders, and peaceable People being of *Maxiscatzin*'s Mind, and the Soldiers siding with *Xicotencatl*; whereupon *Temilotecatl*, another of the four principal Lords, said, "He was of Opinion, that
" Embassadors should be sent to the Commander of
" those new People, to tell him, that he should be
" well receiv'd in that City; and that in the mean
" Time, since they had Troops in Readiness, *Xicotencatl* should advance towards him with the *Otomies*,
" and try what those were whom some call'd Gods;
" and if he vanquish'd them, *Tlascala* would gain eternal Honour; but if not, the Blame should be laid
" upon the *Otomies*, as a barbarous and rash People." This Advice being generally approv'd of, was order'd to be put in Execution. The *Zempoalan* Messengers were then call'd in, and told, that they were resolv'd to receive those *Teules* in friendly Manner; but at the
same

same Time they detain'd and secur'd them under Colour of a Sacrifice, to gain Time for their General to march out against *Cortes*, and to return their Answer, according to the Event, which could not be long; because their Troops had been got ready upon the first Landing of those Strangers; and for as much as the Imprisoning of Embassadors was among those Nations look'd upon as a most villainous Action, it will not be amiss here to mention how they us'd to receive and entertain them.

EMBASSADORS, according to the Law of Nations, were treated with so much Respect throughout all *New-Spain*, that tho' those People were the most revengeful of any in the World, they honour'd the Embassadors of their mortal Enemies, as if they had been Deities; choosing rather to transgress any of their Religious Rites than to injure them, because they rely'd on their Faith, and that ought not to fail on any Account. It was the Custom of Embassadors when they travell'd, that they might be known in their Enemies Country, to wear each of them a very fine Mantle rowl'd up from End to End, and wrapp'd about their Body, with two Knots on the Shoulders, about a Span's Length coming out beyond the Knot; and he was to have this Mantle on when he deliver'd his Embassy. Besides this he had on another coarser, so folded, that it form'd a Lump or Knob rowl'd, and it hung by a small Cord thrown over his Breast and Shoulders. In his Right Hand he held an Arrow by the Point, the Feather up, and in the left a small Target, and a Net containing as much Provision as would serve him to the Place, where he was to deliver his Embassy. When he enter'd upon an Enemy's Country, he was to keep the strait Road, without deviating from it, on Pain of forfeiting the Liberty and Privilege of an Embassador, and being condemn'd to

Death.

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Death. When he came to the Town, where he was to deliver his Message, he halted, was known, and the Officers of the Lord he was going to went out to receive him. They order'd him to repose himself in the *Calpisca*, being the publick Town-House, where he was entertain'd suitably to the Quality of the Lord that sent him. The Lord of the Place was inform'd that a Messenger was come, and he presently order'd him to be brought, to hear what he had to say. He went very compos'd, silent, and considering how he should deliver himself, being attended by the prime Men of the Household, with Roses in their Hands, which they gave him. Being come to the Palace, he advanc'd very slowly, looking down on the Ground, to the Place where the King or Lord sate in his greatest Majesty, and having made profound Obeysance, crouch'd down on his Hams, in the Middle of the Hall or Chamber, his Feet close together, and gathering up the Mantle, which cover'd him all over. The Lord made a Sign for him to speak, and then after another Obeysance, he with a low Voice, his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, many Compliments, and very florid Language, which they made much Account of, deliver'd his Message. The Lord, and his chief Ministers heard him, sitting, after their Manner, on little low Stools, made of one Piece of Wood, which they call *Tepales*, being very attentive, and their Heads hanging down, so that their Mouths were on their Knees. When the Message was deliver'd, if the Embassador came not from some very great Prince, no Answer was return'd till the next Day. Some Persons went to bear him Company to the *Calpisca*, where he was furnish'd with Necessaries, and in the mean Time the Lord advis'd with Council, what Answer to return, and that was not done by himself, but by one of them. When he had receiv'd the Answer, they put into his Net the

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Provision for his Journey, and it was customary to give him some Presents, which he receiv'd, if his Lord had not forbid it, for if he was Embassador from a Friend, it was an Affront to the Lord that gave, not to receive them; and if from an Enemy, he could not do it without his Master's Leave. The same Persons that had conducted him to the *Calpisca*, walked on him out of the Town, where after many Compliments, they dismiss'd him. Embassadors from some Republick, or Province, never went alone, but there were at least four of them, and Persons of much Authority, Discretion, and Eloquence, to the End that whether they were for Peace, or War, their Words might have the more Weight, and they compass what they design'd.

EIGHT Days were pass'd since *Cortes* sent the *Zempoalans* to *Tlascala*, and they return'd not. He ask'd, those Gentlemen that went with him, what made them stay so long? They answer'd, It was likely they did not dispatch them, for the more Grandeur and Ostentation; for which Reason, and because they gave him great Assurances of the Friendship of the *Tlascalans*, he resolv'd to advance with his Forces. At the End of the Vale he found a great Wall of dry Stone, a Fathom and a half high, twenty Foot broad, with a Parapet of two Spans all along, to fight on it. This Wall reach'd across the whole Valley from one Mountain to the other, having only one Entrance ten Paces wide, and there was a double Enclosure before the other, in the Nature of a Ravelin, about forty Paces in Length, thus it was so strong, that had there been any to defend it, the *Spaniards* would have had enough to force their Way through. *Cortes* halted to view it, and was a considerable Time examining every Part, to see whether there was any Ambush. He ask'd, what was the Design, and who had built it? They told him, that *Tenamiochtlan*, who attended him so far,

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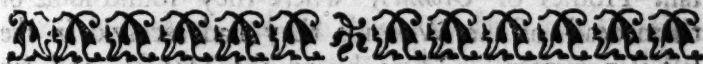
settle the Borders between himself, and the *Tlascallans*, and oppos'd their Entering his Country, tho' they were then Friends. By this *Cortes* was convinc'd of the general Notion conceiv'd of the Valour of the *Tlascallans*, since so great a Work had been erected to oppose them. The Workmanship of that Wall was much admir'd, because it was very artificially done, without any Mixture of Plaister, or Clay. The Lord of that Wall being still near by, and observing that they had taken Notice of it, thought they had been afraid to go any farther, and came back to entreat him not to pass that Way, and he would show him another safer, among the Subjects of *Moteczuma*, for that he fear'd the *Tlascallans* would do him some Harm. The *Zempoalans* persisted to advise the contrary, saying, the others Advice was malicious, to divert him from the Confederacy of that brave Nation, who being once made Friends there would be no Ocession to stand in Awe of *Moteczuma*. *Cortes* was distracted by this Variety of Counsels, but at length adher'd to the Opinion of the *Zempoalans*, whom he knew to mean sincerely, and because he would not be thought to fear any Thing.

He took Leave of *Tzacmichtiulan*, keeping three hundred of his Men, and enter'd the Enclosure towards *Tlascala*, his Men marching in good Order, and the Artillery ready, still sending out Parties before to prevent any Surprise. When they had advanc'd a League, they came to a very thick Wood of Pine Trees, with abundance of Threads and Papers tangled about the trees, and crossing the Way, which the Spaniards much laugh'd at, and broke many Jest, being inform'd that the Sorcerers had promis'd the *Tlascallans*, that they would stop, and disable them with those Threads and Papers. When he had advanc'd three Leagues from the Wall, *Cortes* sent Orders to his Men to hasten their

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March, because it was late, and going forward himself with the Horsemen, as soon as they came to the Top of a Hill, the two that went foremost upon Discovery, fell in with fifteen or sixteen *Indians*, arm'd with their Swords, and Targets, with high Plumes of Feathers standing up, and others hanging down their Backs, who had been posted there to give Intelligence, and as soon as they discover'd the *Spaniards*, ran away, without staying, tho' they much intreated them; but finding that the Horses would overtake them, they drew up all together, and defending themselves fought so desperately that they kill'd two Horses, having almost cut off their Heads, their Swords being edg'd with Flints so fastned to the Wood, that they cut like Razors. The *Indians* retir'd, brandishing their Swords, without showing the least Fear; but *Cortes* spying above five thousand Men in one Body, that were moving to relieve the others, order'd them to be struck through with Spears, which he had forbid before, and sent to the Infantry to hasten forward. Before the Infantry could come up, the aforesaid Body of *Indians* had reach'd the Horsemen, and having shot their Arrows, began the Fight. The Horsemen stuck many with their Spears, especially those that press'd upon them. As soon as the *Indians* spy'd the *Spanish* Infantry, they retir'd, being much frighted at the Horses, saying those Stags were bigger than theirs, and more swift, and that it was by Inchantment that the *Spaniards* rode on them. When the Body of *Indians* was withdrawn, two of the *Zempoala* Messengers that *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala* return'd, with some Presents from the Republick, who said, they were sorry for the Rudeness of those barbarous People, who were some Towns of *Otomies*, that had committed such a Disorder, without Leave; tho' they were glad they had been chastis'd, as they deserv'd; that the Republick was desirous to know

know, and serve him in their Town, and if they would have them pay for the Horses those *Otomies* had kill'd, they would immediately send Gold, and Jewels. Tho' *Cortes* was sensible of the Falsehood of the Messengers, he thank'd them for their kind Offer, adding, he would soon be with them ; and suppressing his Concern for that the *Indians* had found the Horses to be mortal, said, he would take no Pay for them, because he should soon have many more brought him from the same Place where those had been bred. The *Otomies* were subject to the Republick of *Tlascala*, having their Towns in Bottoms, and their Scouts on the Hills, who when they discover'd any Strangers made Fires to give Notice from one Place to another, and the People assembled to defend themselves.



CHAP. II.

Four Battles fought between the Spaniards, and the Tlascallans ; a single Combat between a Zempoalan, and a Tlascallan.



THE *Tlascallan* Embassadors return'd Home, carrying off about seventy *Indians* that had been kill'd in the aforefaid Action, to bury them ; and *Cortes* order'd the dead Horses to be interr'd, that the *Indians* seeing them lye in the Field, might not be daily put in Mind that they could kill the rest. The Army was then, as has been said, within the Territories of *Tlascala*, and all

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all that Province from *Villa Rica* to the said Territories, was call'd *Corasla*; which tho' large, was not populous, because *Moteczuma* had some Time before destroy'd it, on Account of its not submitting to him. The Country is like *Andaluzia* in *Spain*, fat, hot, and fruitful, having many fresh and good Waters, which produce much Fish; many Forests of wild Trees; Poplar Groves, with wild Vines running up them, and other Sorts. It is about thirty Leagues over, to the Passes, which are uncooth, and cold, the Snow lying in some of them, many Pine Trees, and Oaks, bearing bigger Leaves and smaller Acorns than those in *Spain*. At Sun-setting, *Cortes* encamp'd near a Brook, on a convenient and strong Spot of Ground, and they kept Guard by an hundred at a Time. Having been undisturb'd that Night, the next Day they came to certain Houses of *Otomies*, where they found some of them dead of the Wounds they had receiv'd in the last Encounter. They burnt the Houses, and for Want of better Provisions, fed upon *Tunas*, a Sort of Fruit that Country produces, because they saw the *Indians* eat them. The next Day *Cortes* held on his Way, and being come to a bad Pass, which was a deep Hollow, commanded every Way by Hills, before they began to pass, a Dog bark'd; *Lares*, a Smith, and an able Horseman made up to the Place, kill'd two *Indians* he met, and the rest fled. Here the other two *Zempoalan* Messengers *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala* came sweating, lamenting, much abus'd, and in such a Fright that they could scarce speak. They prostrated themselves on the Ground, laid hold of *Cortes's* Feet, and said, the wicked *Tlascalians*, breaking through the Immunities of Embassies, had bound them to be sacrific'd to the God of Victory, that they unbinding one another that Night, had made their Escape, and that they intended

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tended to sacrifice all the *Spaniards* in the same Manner.

SOON after the Arrival of the *Zempoalans*, when they had march'd little above half a Quarter of a League, about one thousand *Indians* well arm'd appear'd on a little Hill, who attack'd the *Spaniards*, according to their Custom, with great Cries, and Volleys of Darts, Stones, and Arrows. *Cortes* by Means of the Interpreters, desir'd them to be quiet, because he was for Peace, signifying the same to them in solemn Manner. Perceiving they did not forbear, he fell on, and they artfully gave Way, retiring, till they drew the *Spaniards* into an Ambush of thirty thousand, that lay up the Brook in certain little Hollows that were by the Pass.

THE *Spaniards* were in a desperate Condition, by reason of the Multitude of their Enemies, who charg'd them where they had not Room to stir; but the Encouragement given by *Cortes* avail'd very much, telling them, they now fought for their Lives, and did no Wrong to those that had attack'd them without any Cause. Here *Touche*, one of the Noblemen of *Zempoala*, told *Marina*, he saw the Death of them all before his Eyes, for it was impossible that one Man should get off alive. *Marina* bid him not to fear, because the God of the Christians, who was very powerful, and lov'd them, would deliver them out of that Danger. Not long after those Words had been spoken, the *Spaniards* and their Confederate *Indians* fighting manfully, to avoid being sacrific'd, got out of that Streight, where the *Tlascallans* behav'd themselves in such furious Manner that several of them came to close in with the *Spaniards*, and others laid hold of the Horsemen's Spears, as they rode before to make Way for the Foot, and the Confederate *Indians* flood to it leaping into the Water. *Cortes* every now and

and then turn'd to the Infantry, and bid them remember, that the Planting of the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*, which it was their Duty to promote, depended on the Preservation of their Persons; that they might expect very great Rewards; besides, that being *Spaniards*, they ought not to despond; or flinch, which their Nation never did. At length, with much Difficulty, they extricated themselves from among those Hollows, and Brooks, and got into the Plain Fields, where the Horses having Room to run, and the Cannon to play, terrify'd the *Indians*, and kill'd many, so that not being able to endure it, they retir'd to a rising Ground, and there fortify'd themselves. This Day some *Spaniards* were wounded, but not one kill'd; and many *Indians* dy'd upon the Spot, as did others afterwards of their Wounds. The *Spaniards* rejoyc'd wonderfully, and with loud Voices return'd Thanks to God, for having deliver'd them out of that Danger, nor was there less Myrth among the *Indians* their Friends, who embracing the *Spaniards*, congratulated their Escape. The Gentleman of *Zempoala*, commending *Marina*, related her Prediction, and she declar'd, she had never been afraid, confiding, that the God of the Christians would protect them. The Drums, Trumpets, and Fifes in the Army all sounded, and the Confederate *Indians* play'd on their Instruments, dancing, and singing for the Victory, the Enemy beholding all those Tokens of Joy.

THIS was the Posture of Affairs, when an *Indian* who commanded in one Part of the Enemy's Army, making Signals of Peace, came down to the Place where *Cortes* was, with some of his prime Men about him, and said, That Experience had convinc'd him, that he and his were invincible, and immortal Gods, therefore he desir'd him, that the War might cease, and he would prevail with the Commanders on his Side,

Side, that they should be reconcil'd, and permit him to enter into *Tlascala*. *Cortes* chearfully answer'd, that he had already offer'd them his Friendship, and tho' he had sufficient Cause to do it, he would not render Evil for Evil, but act according to God's Precept, and be their Friend. That Commander went back to the *Tlascallans*, who beat him so unmercifully, that he was much bruise'd. He return'd to *Cortes*, saying, those wicked Men would destroy him. *Cortes* order'd he should be dress'd, and warn'd him, that since they were to engage again with his Countrymen, he should stand apart, with a Token he gave him, that he might not be hurt. Some went out to skirmish on both Sides, and there were notable Actions. Among the rest, one of the four *Zempoala* Indians, whom *Cortes* had sent on his Embassy to *Tlascala*, knowing a Captain, who in that City had seiz'd, bound, and abus'd him, and looking on it as an heinous Offence, Embassadors being so much respected in those Parts as has been said, ask'd Leave of *Cortes* to challenge him, who embrac'd, commended, encourag'd, and allow'd of the Challenge, directing a *Spaniard*, to draw near when they were engag'd, to the End that if his *Indian* should be in Danger of being worsted, he might not perish. The Fight was begun in the Sight of both Armies, laying on with their Swords, and warding off with their Targets; but in Conclusion, the *Zempoalan* kill'd the *Tlascallan*, and cut off his Head, the Confederate *Indians* celebrating the Victory with mighty Cries, and a prodigious Noise of their Horns, and Trumps, of which they had a vast Number; and the *Spaniards* perceiving that *Cortes* rejoyc'd at it, as looking upon that as an happy Prefage of his future Victories, sounded their Trumpets, and beat their Drums. Between the two Armies was a very narrow and dangerous Pass, which the *Tlascallans* defended, and the *Spaniards*

niards were of Necessity to march that Way. *James de Ordas* offer'd to gain it with sixty *Spaniards*. He boldly clos'd with the Enemy, pushing them, and gaining Ground, tho' Showers of Arrows fell on him and his Men. At length he gain'd the Pass, and then the Horses were led through. This was a very singular Action, in which he show'd much Valour, and Resolution, because there was an infinite Number of *Indians*, and the Showers of Arrows fell so thick, that it requir'd very much Bravery to attempt such an Enterprize with the sixty chosen Men he had, whose Conduct was much to be admir'd, for keeping to their close Order, their Targets lifted up, and equally covering them, they advanc'd without breaking their Order, till they had obtain'd the Victory.

THE *Tlascallans* having lost that Pass, which had been thought so proper to be defended, thinking they had no more Business there, left the Field, and march'd clear off; and the *Spaniards* being very well pleas'd at it, that they might be still advancing, went and took up their Quarters in a little Town that stood on an Eminence, call'd *Tecozizimco*, where there was a Temple with a little Tower, which was afterwards with much Reason, call'd of *Victory*. They with extraordinary Diligence made Baracks of Boughs and Straw, the *Indians* their Friends working at it, with much Alacrity, because *Cortes* very dextrously pleas'd them, and they were ready to serve upon all Occasions, on that Account, and to avoid falling into the Hands of their Enemies. All that Night, being the first of *September*, strict Watch was kept, and *Cortes* himself was upon the Guard, with the third Part of his Men at the Morning Watch, which was most apprehended, but no Enemy appear'd, because it was not their Custom to fight in the Night. The next Day *Cortes* thought fit to send Messengers to desire the *Tlascallans*, to permit

mit him to proceed freely on his Way, since it was not his Design to do them any Harm, nor was he going to join in Confederacy against them with the King of Mexico, but only to perform what his Master the King of Spain had commanded him. In the mean Time, leaving *Peter de Alvarado* with half of the Forces, he march'd out with the other half, and the Horsemen. He burnt four or five Towns, and return'd with four hundred Prisoners, and no Loss, tho' the Enemy charg'd him all the Way to his Quarters, where he was told, that the *Tlascallan* Commanders had answer'd to his Message, that they would go the next Day to see, and tell him their Minds. This bold Answer, and the Advice *Cortes* had receiv'd that one hundred and fifty thousand Men were assembled, made him put his Forces into such a Posture that he might not be surpriz'd.

Cortes either by fair or by foul Means resolv'd to be inform'd by the most rational of the Prisoners about all Things that were convenient for him to know, and they answer'd, That since they were his Prisoners, and so well us'd, they would tell him the Truth. They declar'd that the Army was compos'd of *Otomies* and *Tlascallans*, all Subjects to the Republick of *Tlascala*, tho' they did not care to have it known that the Commonwealth made the War, because they would not have it thought, if they should be vanquish'd, that it had been by their Authority; that they hated him because they imagin'd he was going to be a Friend to their mortal Enemy *Moteczuma*, and therefore they were agreed never to give over till they had conquer'd the *Spaniards*, and sacrific'd them to their Gods, and then made a solemn Banquet of them, which they call'd Heavenly; that the War was carry'd on at the particular Instigation of *Xicotencatl*, the General of the Republick, who carry'd its Standard, which was a

Golden

Golden Eagle, with its Wings display'd, and much Enamel, and other Ornaments, and that he would see it the next Day in the Rear of their Army, because they were to fight; for in Time of Peace it went before; that they were about one hundred and fifty thousand Men, most of them Archers, who were very good Marksmen, when they lay in Hollows, or on the Ridges of Hills; that they were very much afraid of the Thunder, and of the great running Stags, and were amaz'd at the dreadful Wounds their Swords had made.

THE great *Tlascallan* Army appear'd, the General's Standard was seen, and the number of Men was so great, that they cover'd the whole Plain, all of them painted, and with great Plumes of Feathers, arm'd after their Manner with Bows, and Arrows, Slings, and Javelings, which they cast with Leather Strops, so strongly, and with such Dexterity, that they would pierce a Door, and was the Weapon the *Spaniards* most dreaded; long Spears, and Swords edg'd with Flint, as also Targets, Clubs, Head-Pieces, wooden Gantlers and Greaves, cover'd with Deer's Skins gilt, Cotten Armour for the Body, a Finger thick, which they call'd *Escapiles*, worn afterwards by the *Spaniards*, who found them useful against the Arrows, and convenient in the Toils they underwent, not being able to endure Armour of Steel or Iron. They likewise made Use of the *Indian* Targets, their own being soon spoilt with often fighting, and those were very lightly, made of Wood and Leather, adorn'd with Feathers, and others of Reeds, and Cotton, being the best because they did not split. The Army march'd very orderly, divided into Battalions, not in Rank and File, but crowded together, and every Battallion had Horns, and Kettle-Drums, which was an extraordinary Sight, for the *Spaniards* had never beheld so great an Army since they discover'd the *Indies*.

The

The Enemy halted very near the *Spaniards*, with a deep Trench or Slough between them. *Cortes* show'd himself highly pleas'd at the Sight of them, and told his Men, that God gave them that Opportunity for his greater Glory, and the Honour of the *Spanish* Nation, which would strike a Terror not only into *Motexuma*, but into all that World. The *Tlascallans* being highly pleas'd with so great and mighty an Army, encourag'd by the small Number of the *Spaniards*, puff'd up with their usual Success against their Enemies, very loftily said, " Who are these few conceited Fellows, that design to enter our Country against our Will? But that they may not think we had rather starve them out, than subdue them by Force of Arms, let us send them something to eat, for they are hungry, and weary, that they may be more palatable to us when sacrific'd." They sent three hundred Turkeys, two hundred Baskets of Cakes of *Zemli*, which they call *Tamales*, being about two hundred Arrobas, that is, fifty hundred Weight of Bread, which was an extraordinary Supply for the *Spaniards*, considering the the Distress they were in.

WHEN the *Tlascallans* thought the *Spaniards* had eaten, *Xicórentatl* in a very haughty manner commanded two thousand Men to go to them, saying, " Go take those Creatures the Sea has spew'd up, and if they defend themselves, kill them; and see that you behave yourselves like brave Men, since you are the Flower of our Army, and are going to fight for the Gods, and for your Country. The two thousand Men boldly pass'd the Slough, and with no less Intrepidity advanc'd to the Tower. The Horsemen went out first to receive them, and the Infantry follow'd, and the *Tlascallans* at the very first Incounter were made sensible of what the *Spanish* Weapons could do. They drew back a little, but return'd with greater Fury, when they

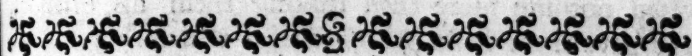
they were fully convinc'd, that those few Men were not to be slighted; such of them as lighted upon the Pass in the Slough, or Quagmire escap'd, all the rest were kill'd. The Commanders of the Army having seen what had hapned, giving a hideous Shout fell on with all their Power; and so boldly, that many of the *Indians* came up to the very Camp, and some enter'd it in spite of those that were left upon the Guard, fighting with the *Spaniards* hand to hand. This prov'd a Day of mighty Danger, by reason of the immense Multitude of the Enemy, for the Fight lasted above four Hours, within and without the Trenches, before they could make room, the *Indians* charging and attacking furiously, till seeing so great a Number kill'd, they began to slacken; being amazed that they kill'd never a *Spaniard*, looking upon that as wonderful, so that they still fought as if they had been angry with themselves; but as it grew late, they retir'd. The *Spaniards* rested that Night the better, because they knew the *Indians* would not fight in the Night, but kept a good Guard. The *Tlascallans* did not look upon themselves as vanquish'd, and how many were kill'd could not be known, because as soon as one fell they carry'd him off and hid him, which was thought to be done to avoid discouraging their own Men, and encouraging the Enemy.

THE next Day *Cortes* march'd out into the Country, burnt some Towns, and plunder'd one that had three thousand Inhabitants, but few Soldiers, because most of them were gone to the Army; however they fought as Men would do for their Houses and Goods, tho' it avail'd them little, for many were kill'd. The Town was fir'd, many Prisoners carry'd away, and the *Spaniards* return'd to their Quarters, at the Time when a great Number of Men were coming to defend that Place, but retir'd immediately for fear of the Guns, and being fatigu'd with the Heat. The next Day the *Tlascallans* thinking

thinking they could gain more Advantage over the *Spaniards* in narrow Places, in haughty manner sent them Provisions again, as they had done before, wishing they would come out into some streight Place, but finding they did not, they boldly gave the Attack again. They fought five Hours very desperately, without being able to kill, or take one *Spaniard*, which was what they most covered; but of them a prodigious Number was slain, because as they were throng'd together, the Cannon, the Muskets, and the Cross-bows made very great Havock. At length, being tir'd, fretted, and aſham'd that they had not executed their Malice, they retir'd in Confuſion, ſaying, the *Spaniards* muſt needs be enchanted, ſince their Weapons did them ſo little Harm. The next Morning the Commanders ſent their Meſſengers to *Cortes*, who ſaid to him, " Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are five Slaves for you to eat? If you are " a good God, we offer you Incenſe and Feathers? and " if you are a Man, take theſe Fowls, Bread and Cher- " ries, for you and your Men to eat?" Their deſign was to know, whether the *Spaniards* were Men like themſelves, becauſe by reaſon they had not been able to vanquiſh them, or kill any one, they concluded they were immortal; and ſeeing on the other Hand, that they did eat, and do other Things, like Mortals, they were aſtoniſh'd. *Cortes*, who never wanted Diſcretion upon any Occaſion, ſaid, They were all mortal Men like themſelves, made up of the ſame Qualifications; but that becauſe they believ'd in and ſerv'd one only true God, he did and would always aſſiſt them; that they ſhould not deal treacherouſly with him, for all would turn to their Prejudice, and ſince he did not deſire to do them any Harm, but to be their Friend, he advis'd them not to be obſtinate. Having deliver'd himſelf thus mildly, he diſmiſs'd them, returning Thanks for the Preſent. The next Day thirty thouſand *Tlaſcallans* advanc'd,

advanc'd, being desirous to signalize themselves more than the rest had done, and fought so bravely, that the Battle was more bloody than the former; but at last they went off with Shame; and it is to be observ'd, that for the Space of ten Days the *Spaniards* continu'd in those Quarters, the *Indians* generally supply'd them with Fowl, Bread, and Cherries; only that they might have the Opportunity of viewing its Order and Situation, whether any dead Men were bury'd, or wounded dress'd, and observe how they look'd, or whether they had more or fewer Forces; but the *Spaniards* at the first had no Jealousy of their Design, and on the contrary commended the *Indians* for making War only with their Weapons, for had they cut off their Provisions, the Damage would have been very great. Every Time they carry'd Provisions they said those that fought were the barbarous *Otomies*, and not the *Tlascallans*. In one of these Engagements, a gay *Tlascallan* well arm'd fought so bravely with two *Spaniards*, that he put them to it, till *Lares* the Farrier, crying out, For shame *Spaniards*, clos'd with the *Indian*, who stood boldly, with his Sword, and Target, and striking his Spear into his Breast, kill'd him. The Valour of the *Tlascallans* was so great, and their Multitude so prodigious, that all Men concluded it was rather some divine Assistance, than any human Power that supported the *Spaniards*.





C H A P. III.

The Tlascallans send Spies into the Spanish Army; Cortes marches to Cinpancingo; the Inhabitants offer to make Peace between him, and Tlascala; his Speech to his Soldiers; another Battle, and Peace concluded after it.



THE Distance between the Quarters of the *Spaniards*, and the City of *Tlascala* was but six Leagues, so that the Republick was daily inform'd of every Thing that hapned. The *Tlascallans* being now wholly intent upon seeking revenge of the *Spaniards*, and finding how little they could do by open Force, had recourse to Policy, and in order to it, the more to lull the *Spaniards* into Security, and seem inclin'd to Peace, they sent some Men of note, with Presents of Gold and Feathers, which were very considerable for the City of *Tlascala*, from whence they came. They made great Obeysance to *Cortes*, and the eldest of them told him, That the Republick kils'd his Hands, and sent that small Present, which was not so inconsiderable for want of good Will, but by reason of the Poverty of their Country, but if he had any other Commands, they would serve him very readily. *Cortes* thinking the Message had been sincere, very pleasantly told them, that tho' he valu'd the Present,

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he made more Account of their good Will, and coveted nothing more than making them his Friends. He gave them some *Spanish* Toys, which they valu'd. The next Day the *Tlascallans* sent fifty Men, who in their Way look'd considerable, brought Provisions, ask'd how the Men did, and what they meant to do. *Cortes* said they were all well, gave Thanks for the Present, and those Men growing familiar walk'd all about the Camp, viewing its Situation, and observing the Weapons, the Habit, and particularly the Horses, pretending to wonder at every thing, tho' in reality the Strangeness of all those Things might well be admir'd by them. *Teuth* the *Zempoalan* Gentleman taking particular Notice of them, told *Cortes*, he did believe those Men to be Spies, and that they had some private Talk with the *Indians* of *Tztautuchilan*. Upon this Advice, *Cortes* order'd any one of them to be taken up without being observ'd by the others, whom he examin'd by his Interpreters, using Threats if he did not confess the Truth. He own'd that they had been all sent to discover which way they might best burn the Baracks, to which Purpose they design'd to march with a great Army by Night, thinking that the *Spanish* Guns, Horses, and Weapons were less to be fear'd in the Dark. Others having confirm'd this Account, he caus'd the Hands of sever of those Men, and the Thumb of some others to be cut off, tho' much against their Inclination, but believing it might be of use for the future, and bid them go tell their General *Xicotencatl* that he would serve all the Spies that fell into his Hands after that manner, and that he might advance with his Army, for he would always find the *Spaniards* invincible, either by Night, or by Day.

THOSE Men with their Hands cut off, struck a great Consternation among *Xicotencatl's* Forces, believing that the *Spaniards* had some Spirit that discov-

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ver'd their Thoughts to them, for which reason they durst not send any more Spies nor Provisions. *Cortes* being thus inform'd of what was design'd against him, enlarg'd his Trenches, and fortify'd all that was convenient, providing every Thing till Sun-set, when he perceiv'd that the Enemy's Army was advancing to put their Design in Execution; and judging it most expedient not to suffer them to come up to his Quarters, for fear of the Mischief that might happen by Fire, he boldly march'd out to meet them, which he thought would terrify them the more, as believing their Intention had not been known. He caus'd all the Horses to have Breast Plates full of Hawks-bells, that the Noise might make them seem the more, and every Man might hear where his Comrade was, directing they should strike the Enemies on the Faces with their Spears, because they were wont to lay hold of, and snatch them away. Then having told the Soldiers, that they must overcome that Multitude by Dint of Valour, he fell on at the Time when the Spies, whose Hands had been cut off, were relating what had befallen them, which much troubled the General, and all that heard it; but they were much more astonish'd to see themselves so unexpectedly assaulted; so that they instantly dispers'd, and all fled without making any Opposition, over the Corn Fields which extended far thereabouts, and tho' a great Slaughter was made, *Cortes* took Care to put a stop to the Pursuit, for fear they should be drawn into some Place of Disadvantage, and it was very remarkable to behold in what humble, and devout manner they all came back, praising God, for granting them such Victories, in Places unknown to them, and so populous, which was a Demonstration of the divine Assistance, and made them rejoyce, tho' much fatigu'd, and many of them wounded, and without Medicines to dress them, so

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that for want of Oyl they were forc'd to use the Grease of *Indians* that were kill'd, when they could get it, for, as has been said, those People always endeavour'd to carry off the Bodies of the slain.

THE next Day *Cortes* seeing his Men chearful, said to them, " That since God had till then so visibly
" assisted them, they would be all very much to
" blame, if they did not proceed on what they had
" so well begun, with double Resolution, and to
" that Purpose it was requisite to press hard upon the
" *Tlascalans*, to the end they might afterwards prove
" the surer Friends; for that nothing could be more
" advantagious to them in *New-Spain*, than to be in
" Confederacy with that Commonwealth, which was
" to be compass'd by prosecuting the Victories they
" had gain'd over them." All the Commanders, and
chief Soldiers entirely resign'd themselves to his Will, promising to follow wheresoever he would lead them. *Xicotencatl* being much out of Countenance at the Disasters he had met with against the *Spaniards*, retir'd to *Tlascala*. *Maxiscatzin*, and the other Lords told him, it had been better to have follow'd the first Advice, and sav'd the Lives of so many as had perish'd by the Hands of those brave Men, who were favour'd by their God, and therefore it was in vain to persist obstinately to the Loss of the Reputation of that Republick. *Cortes* seeing no Enemy appear in the open Country, went up to the Top of the Tower of the Temple where his Quarters were, whence he discover'd several Towns, and abundance of Smokes towards the Mountains. Then coming down he told his Captains he believ'd that to be a large Place, and since no Enemy appear'd it was proper not to lose Time, but to put in Execution what had been agreed on. As soon as it was Night, having before taken an exact View of the Country, he resolv'd to try his Fortune.

turne, and enter'd upon a great Road, with half his Infantry, and all his Horse, judging that Way would lead him to the Smoaks he had seen. Tho' the Darknes of the Night was dreadful, as it was to march at that unusual Hour, in an unknown Country, and without knowing where they should fall in with their Enemies, yet they advanc'd undaunted. They had scarce gone a League, when a Horse fell, *Cortes* order'd him to return to the Quarters, and presently two more fell one after another, and before it was long made up five. The Soldiers begg'd of *Cortes*, for the Love of God to turn back, and do what they design'd by Day, because they look'd upon that as an ill Omen; he with an undaunted Courage, and Intrepidity, pray'd them, for the Love of God, whose Cause they had in Hand not to regard superstitious Observations, but to hold on their Way, since he went himself foremost, and that the Horses might return to the Place from whence they came, for his Mind gave him that they should that Night perform the greatest Enterprize they had ever yet gone about. He had scarce spoke those Words, when his Horse fell, which he wonder'd at, where-upon all his Men, urging, that it was tempting of God, and some that he would ruin all, he with much Generosity, in a severe manner told them, They ought to consider, that great Undertakings were not to be carry'd on without Difficulties; that they should try to march a-foot, leading the Horses, to see what that strange Accident tended to. When they had march'd far after this manner, the Horses were all well, and they could never find what had occasion'd their past Dis-temper, tho' some fancy'd it might have been some Sorcery of the *Indians*, much practis'd among them; but it was no other than the Cold of the Night which gave them the Gripes.

PROCEEDING

PROCEEDING thus, till they had lost their Aim at the Mountains, they came to some stony Grounds, from which they extricated themselves with Difficulty, and spying a Fire, made towards it. They found two Men, and two Women in a House, who conducted them to the Mountains where *Cortes* had seen the Smoaks. Before it was Day they came into some Villages, where the Fright was greater than the Hurt, and being inform'd that *Cimpancingo*, a large Town was near by, they soon came to it, the surprize occasioning much Confusion. Some Harm was done at first, but the People running away, some of them naked, the Women shrieking, and all in the utmost Consternation, *Cortes* order'd that no Person should be kill'd, and nothing taken, so that all the Disorder soon ceas'd, and the Inhabitants return'd to their Houses. *Cortes* went up to a high Place, whence he discover'd such an immense Multitude of Houses, that he was astonish'd, and asking, what Places those were, was told, That was the City of *Tlascala*, and the Villages about it. He call'd all his Men, and said, what would it have avail'd to destroy the People of *Cimpancingo*, since there are so many yonder. Then turning to *Alonso de Grado*, who was chief Alcalde, he ask'd him, what he thought was fit to be done, considering the Multitude of People they discover'd. He answer'd, That they should return to the Sea, and write to *James Velasquez* to send Supplies, because if any cross Accident, or Sicknes should happen among them, it was certain they would be all devour'd by the *Indians*. *Cortes* was much concern'd at this Answer, and especially for its touching upon *James Velasquez*. However he reply'd to him, that he ought to consider, that if once they went about to retire, the very Stones would rise up against them, and if they must certainly dye, it was better to perish in the Prosecution of their Design, than running away.

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He then went to rest him by a Spring, that was without the Town, whither the prime Men, seeing no Harm had been done them, resorted to him with abundance of unarm'd People, carrying a Quantity of Provisions. They thank'd him for having done no Hurt, as he might, desiring he would continue the same Orders, and offer'd to obey him, and intercede with the Lords of *Tlascala*, for a Peace. He entertain'd them very kindly, promising his Friendship, provided they were sincere, and so return'd to his Quarters, well pleas'd, and confiding in the Success, bidding the Soldiers not speak ill of the Day till it was past, for he hop'd, that the War with *Tlascala* was at an End, as they would find it, and if so, God had much Prosperity in store for them. Those he had left in his Quarters were very melancholy, fearing some disaster had befallen *Cortes*, because of the Sickness of the Horses; but when they saw him return with a pleasant Countenance, prancing his Horse, all the Men safe, with some of the Natives of the Country they croud'd to welcome him. He told them all that had happened, they listening with much Attention; but when they were inform'd of the Greatness of *Tlascala*, and the Multitude of those martial obstinate People; reflecting how many unhappy Accidents might happen, how little Hopes there were of Supplies when they had, as they said, blindly run themselves into a Country they knew nothing of, and that since their Departure from *Cuba* fifty-five *Spaniards* had dy'd by Sickness, or of the Wounds receiv'd in the several Battles with the *Tlascallans*, they began to hold Cabals, resolving to perswade, and even to require *Cortes* to have more regard to the publick Welfare, and not to carry them where they could not easily retreat, since the Danger was so evident, offering to follow him through greater Fatigues, provided it were with a suitable Power, that which they

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they then had being too inconsiderable for so potent a Country. His surest Friends advis'd him to take Order about it, before the Men mutiny'd. He answer'd, that the Danger was not so great as they represented it, and that it was only an Invention of those that wanted to return to enjoy their Ease in *Cuba*; desiring they would not bring him such Advice, for he did not believe that any *Spaniards* could be so faint-hearted, especially having till then met with so much Success. One Night, going the Rounds, to observe the Sentinels, he heard loud talking, and some Soldiers saying, "If our Commander is mad, let us be wise, and tell him in plain Terms, that he must consider what is fit to be done, or else we will leave him by himself." He told some Friends who were with him, that those who durst say so were likely enough to do it, and going on heard the like in other Places, which troubled him very much, he would willingly have punish'd them; but thought it better to take no Notice at that Time, till hearing that the Murmurs increased, he caus'd all the Men to be drawn together, and spoke to them so effectually, that they all readily submitted to his Will.

It pleas'd God to allay all those Discontents much better, for very soon after six prime *Mexican* Noblemen arriv'd in the Camp, attended by about two hundred Persons they had in their Service, much differing from the others in their Habit, and Behaviour. Being brought before *Cortes*, they after their Manner made him profound Obedience, and it appear'd that they had Notice at *Mexico* of the Victories he had gain'd over the *Tlascallans*. Before they spoke, they deliver'd him a Present from their King, consisting of one thousand Cotton Garments, many curious Pieces of Feather Work, and the Value of one thousand Castellanos in very fine Gold Dust, as it is taken out of the
Mines.

Mines. Then the eldest of them said, " That their Master *Moteczuma* saluted him, and sent that Present by them, wishing him all Prosperity, and owning he deserv'd much more, desiring to know how he and all his did; and that if he wanted any thing his Kingdom afforded, all was at his Service; that he much rejoic'd at the News he had receiv'd of his Victories obtain'd over the *Tlascallans*; that wishing him well, he desir'd he would not go to *Mexico*, because the Way was bad and dangerous, and he should be sorry that any Mischance should besal Men of so much Valour, whom he so entirely lov'd; that he was willing to acknowledge the King of *Spain* his Friend, and Sovereign, whom he would serve in all he should command." In Token that they had no more to say, they stood hanging down their Heads, and their Arms extended one Hand being upon the other. *Cortes* by his Interpreters answer'd, " Bidding them welcome, giving many Thanks to *Moteczuma* for his Present, his Affection, and the Advice he gave him; and for offering to acknowledge so great a Monarch as the King of *Spain* his Master; and because they must be tir'd with so long a Journey, he desir'd they would rest themselves there, whilst he came to a Resolution about his Journey to *Mexico*."

Cortes's design was, that those Embassadors should see how he behav'd himself towards the *Tlascallans*, in case the War was carry'd on, and if Peace were concluded, that they should hear how he reprov'd them for having begun it. He then gave Orders that they should be well treated. At that Time he was indispos'd with a Fever, and therefore had not for some days march'd out into the Country, so that nothing more was done than securing the Quarters, and sometimes skirmishing with Parties of *Tlascallans* that came

to make a Noise. He purg'd himself with a Parcel of Pills he had carry'd from *Cuba*, and before they began to work, the Alarm was given on Account of three great Bodies of the Enemy that had appear'd, and attack'd the Quarters in three several Parts, with the greatest Fury, believing the *Spaniards* to be in an ill Condition, because they had not been abroad during the aforesaid Days. *Cortes*, notwithstanding his Purge mounted a Horseback, fought a long Time in Person, playing both Parts of Commander and Soldier, and omitting nothing that was to be done, till the Enemy were routed and fled, the *Mexicans* being present, and observing every particular Action. The next Day the Purge work'd with *Cortes*, as if it had been then taken, the Physician saying, that Nature had with-held the Operation upon the Diversion given by the Mind. The *Tlascallans* admiring that all their Power had not been able to compass their Design, and most of them concluding that the *Spaniards* were assisted by some Deity, which render'd them invincible, besides being inform'd, that the *Mexican* Embassadors were arriv'd at the *Spanish* Army; having seriously consulted what was to be done, after many Debates, and Contests, concluded that Peace ought to be made, and Endeavours us'd to divert them from entering into any Alliance with the *Mexicans*, if the same were in Agitation, because that would be the greatest misfortune that could befall them. Young *Xicotencatl* was appointed to go on this Embassy, tho' he endeavour'd to excuse himself; but having receiv'd positive Commands, he made ready with fifty of the principal Men in the City, and some Youths to be left as Hostages. He carry'd a Present of Cotton Cloth, and Feather Works, with some Gold, according to the Ability of that City, which had very little of those Things. *Cortes* being advertis'd of the Embassy that was com-

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ing from the Republick of *Tlascala*, and that *Xicotencatl* was the Person employ'd, he went out to receive, and conducted him to his Quarters with much Honour, and Attendance. They two sat down, and all the rest standing, as well *Spaniards* as *Tlascallans*, the Present and the Hostages were brought in, and *Xicotencatl* in very courteous manner begg'd Pardon of all that was past for himself, and his Republick, making many Excuses, and offering to enter into a strict Alliance with the *Spaniards*, and to serve them faithfully for the future.

Cortes having duly consider'd the *Tlascallan's* Speech, and how much he had been mov'd whilst speaking, told him, " There was no Occasion to make himself " uneasy, for that, as he would find in Process of " Time, he and his would be so cordially their Friends, " that they should not love one another better ; be- " cause it was the Nature of the *Spaniards* not only " to return good for good, but even to do good to " those from whom they had receiv'd Harm, it being " the best of Conquests to make Friends of Enemies, " so that he already wish'd for some Opportunity to " prove what he said, by his Actions. However, " he pray'd that they would rightly consider how that " Friendship was concluded, so that there might be " no Failure in it ; for that his God, by whose aid he " conquer'd, did not bear with Frauds ; and that when " he enter'd upon their Country, which would be as " soon as he had dismiss'd the *Mexican* Embassadors, " they would be sensible that his Friendship deserv'd to " be valu'd." *Xicotencatl* rose up very well pleas'd, *Cortes* embrac'd, and went with him out of his Tent, the other Commanders attending him out of the Quarters, all being well pleas'd, and settled in their Minds, hoping that since the War was concluded with *Tlascala*, they should reap great Advantages from that Alliance.

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for at that Time, considering that some of them were dead, very many wounded, and the rest spent with Fatigues, their Number so small, and the many Difficulties they had to surmount, they concluded that if the War had lasted they must all have perish'd, and therefore they ascrib'd the concluding of this Peace at that Time to the special Goodness of God, and for confirming of them in this religious Opinion, Cortes order'd Mass to be said, and a solemn Thanksgiving; after which F. *John Diaz*, call'd the Tower of the Temple there, the *Tower of Victory*, in Memory of those the Troops had gain'd whilst they had their Quarters close by it, during almost forty Days they continu'd in that Place.



CHAP. IV.

The Alliance between Cortes and the Tlascallans concluded; his Reception into their City; the Original and Description thereof, and how it came to be a Republick; the Climate, Nature, and other Particulars of that Province.



XICOTENCATL at his Return to Tlascala was receiv'd as became an Ambassador that had been managing an Affair of that Consequence; the Senate heard all he had to say, and it was there resolv'd, that since they stood so much in need of Cortes to make use of him against *Moteczuma*, they should endeavour

to bring him into their City as soon as possible, to prevent his concluding an Alliance with their Enemy. The Peace was proclaim'd throughout the City and Province, and they made a *Mitote*, that is, a Dance of above twenty thousand Men of the better Sort, richly adorn'd. They offer'd extraordinary Sacrifices to their Gods, burning abundance of Perfumes, and the more to express their Joy, garnish'd the Doors of their Houses with Boughs, and Variety of Flowers. The *Mexican* Embassadors were much concern'd at that Alliance with the *Tlascallans*, and bid *Cortes* take heed what he did, and not to trust those People, who were so false, that they would endeavour to compass by Treachery what they had not been able to perform by open Force, and that he might be assur'd, if they once went into *Tlascala*, that they would murder them every Man basely. Tho' *Cortes*, being a cautious Man, did not as yet repose much Confidence in the *Tlascallans*, knowing that the *Mexicans* were prejudic'd, he answer'd, That if they were ever so treacherous he was resolv'd to go into the City, for he fear'd them less there than in the Field. Having heard his Resolution, they desir'd he would give Leave for one of them to go to *Mexico*, to acquaint the King with what was doing, and carry an Answer to their principal Message, praying he would stay there six Days, till they could hear from *Mexico*. He was well pleas'd with their Proposal, that he might in that Time discover whether the Friendship the *Tlascallans* offer'd was sincere, and how it was taken at *Mexico*.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, many *Tlascallans* resorted to the Army with Provisions, and gave them *gratis*; others went out only to see, and be acquainted with the *Spaniards*, praying them to go to their City. They gave them good Words, till the Messenger returning from *Mexico* the sixth Day, brought

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brought ten costly Jewels of Gold well wrought, and one thousand five hundred Cotton Garments, and in *Moteczuma's* Name intreated *Cortes*, not to expose himself to the Danger of going into *Tlascala*, for he assur'd him, he would repent it, because those were a needy People, and invited him thither, that they might rob him, and would never have concluded a Peace had they not known that he was their Friend. On the other Hand the four prime Lords had already sent to intreat, and importune him to repair to their City, offering him still greater Security, if he desir'd it, and protesting that their Friendship should last for ever, for they would never violate the Faith of the Republick upon any Account, because if they should the Gods would punish them. *Cortes* concluding that so much Courtesy and Importunity must needs proceed from a sincere Friendship, and being much courted to it by the *Zempoalans*, resolv'd to go to *Tlascala*, and accordingly began his March, in good Order, leaving several Crosses, and Heaps of Stones at his Quarters, by the Tower of *Victory*, in Memory of those he had there obtain'd. It was strange to see what Multitudes of People flock'd along the Road from all the neighbouring Parts, to gaze upon the *Spaniards*, all of them amaz'd at the Sight of such Men; and calling to mind the Victories they had gain'd, stood beside themselves with Surprize, not knowing what to think of the Arrival of that strange People. The Accounts the *Zempoalans*, and other *Indians* that follow'd the *Spaniards*, gave, were very notable; who as it were glorying to be in their Company, extoll'd their Valour, their Goodness, and their brave Actions, praising their God by whose Aid they conquer'd. Others said, "What do you think of it now? Here are those chosen Men, sent by their God, whom such vast Numbers of you could not vanquish, and we have brought
" them

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“ them to be your Friends.” Thus attended and cry’d up they arriv’d at *Tlascala*.

Cortes took Care to send Advice to *John de Escalante*, and the rest that had been left behind at *Vera Cruz*, of the Success it had pleas’d God to give him, directing them to carry on the building of the Fort, and to keep a watchful Eye both upon the Natives, and upon the Ships that should come from *Cuba*, and ordering two Jars of Wine to be sent him, for saying Mass, and for the Sick, having us’d all that he carry’d with him. When he arriv’d at *Tlascala*, on the 18th of September 1519, the Lords of the four great Quarters the City was divided into, came out to meet him, in the most stately manner they were able, attended by several other of the greatest Persons in the Commonwealth, and above one hundred thousand Men. The Province complimented him at several Places; first at *Tezonpantzinco*; next at *Atilqueztan*, a very large Town, whither *Pilecutli* came with a very numerous Retinue. Thence *Cortes* proceeded to *Tizala*, a Town belonging to the Quarter of old *Xicotencatl*, who came not out of his House, because of his great Age. The other Lords, being *Maxiscatzin*, *Zitlaepopucatzin*, and *Tlevezolotzin* with all the prime Nobility, and as soon as the Spaniards came up in good Order, young *Xicotencatl* embrac’d *Cortes*, as did the other Lords, whom he receiv’d very courteously, and they all proceeded together to the Place where he and his Men were to be quarter’d, always expressing their desire to serve them. When the Spaniards had been put into their Quarters at the great Temple, and the Indians their Friends with them, who took it for a particular Favour, they were generously treated, and supply’d with all Necessaries. It was wonderful to see what a Multitude of People appear’d both without and within the City, all in their best Apparel, dancing

ing before them to their very Quarters, where they presented *Cortes* with many valuable Pieces of Gold, precious Stones, and abundance of Cotton Cloth and Garments, interwoven with Feathers, which considering their Poverty, was very extraordinary. At first the Natives thought the Man and the Horse had been one Monster, and they gave the Horses their Allowance of Fowls, believing that they had eaten Bread and Flesh; but this mistake lasted not long, for they perceiv'd them to be irrational Creatures, that fed on Grass; tho' they long persisted in the Opinion of their being fierce Animals, that devour'd Men, for which reason the *Spaniards* did put Bridles into their Mouths, and led them with Iron Chains, and when any Horse's Mouth happen'd to be bloody, they said he had eaten some Man; and when they neigh'd, that they ask'd for Meat, and it must be given them, that they might not be angry, and so they were very diligent to supply them. Strangers from remote Parts went privately to see these unheard-of Novelties, to enquire what Men those were, and what was doing. The *Tlascallans* told them much more than the Truth, to strike a Terror into all ^{that} Country; affirming, that they were Gods, and that no human Power could hurt them, which was the more easily credited, because they understood that the *Spaniards* were in *Tlascala*, which had been ever reputed the best govern'd Commonwealth, and its People the bravest, and most martial. The more to assure *Cortes* of their Affection, they presented him with above three hundred beautiful Women, all very well dress'd, that had been condemn'd for Crimes to be sacrific'd, which they gave the *Spaniards* as an Offering, and they lamented their misfortune. *Cortes* would not accept of them, alledging, that their Religion did not permit any Man to have more than one Wife, and she ought to be a Christian.

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At last, in regard that the *Indians* take it very ill to have their Gifts rejected, some of them were receiv'd, under Colour of serving *Marina Malinche*, who was present at all Interviews, and Conferences, and very much respected; for it was the Custom among the *Indians*, for a Woman of Quality to have a great Number of Women to wait on her; and the *Indians* observing, that these and other Women Slaves they at several Times gave the *Spaniards*, liv'd contentedly with them, the prime Men afterwards gave them their own Daughters, to the End that the Race of those brave Men might continue among them. *Xicotencatl* gave a beautiful Daughter he had to *Peter de Alvarado*, and she was afterwards call'd *Dona Luisa Techquiluasín*, those People whilst they were Gentiles, having no other Matrimony than the Consent of the Parties. They gavé *Cortés* the Name of *Calchichimtl*, signifying, the General of great Valour; because *Calchichimtl* is the Colour of an Emerald, and Emeralds are highly valu'd among those People. They call'd *Peter de Alvarado* the Sun, because he was very fair of Complexion, with an agreeable red, and much belov'd by the *Tlascalans*. *Cortés* by Degrees very particularly inquir'd into the Power, and other Affairs of *Moteczuma's* Empire, and concerning the Enmity between him, and that Republick. He commanded his Men to take nothing but what was freely given them. The Natives oblig'd them in every thing, and the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* that went with them, behav'd themselves very civilly, never going beyond the Limits assign'd them without Leave from *Cortés*, who kept them under such strict Discipline, that there was not the least Cause of Complaint.

Now since this Province was so famous, and contributed so much towards reducing of the *Mexican* Empire under the Dominion of the Crown of *Spain*, it

will be requisite to give some Account of it. The whole Extent of it is fifty Leagues, which the *Indians* reckon'd by one Rest, two Rests, one Run, two Runs, &c; and the Journeys by Suns, or Moons; and when they were ask'd, at what Time shall we come to such a Place; they answer'd, when the Sun is there, pointing to the Part of Heaven; and for so many Days Journey, they said, so many Suns, and the same by the Moon, reckoning the Night from the Setting of the Sun to its Rising. The City of *Tlascala* was very strongly situated by Nature, in twenty Degrees Latitude, among very high, and steep Cliffs and Rocks, whence it had the Name of *Tlascala*, signifying a Place of Rocks, till it was afterwards corrupted and chang'd to *Tlascallan*, importing a Place of Bread, because the Province abounds in *Indian* Wheat, and other Grain, and Provisions, their Harvest being always plentiful, by reason that the high Mountains occasion much Rain, so that the Earth has sufficient Moisture. The City was built in that Place because of its Strength, to secure it against their Enemies, for which Reason most of the Towns stood on high Grounds, and consequently they were cold. From *Xicotencatl's* Quarter there runs a Ridge of Hills, beginning in the East, and tending to the West, forming an oblong Side, through the Midst whereof passes the River *Zahuatl*, which some Years overflows its Banks, and carries away the Houses and the Harvest. On the North Side of the same Hills is the Town of *Ocotenilco*, the first Settlement the *Spaniards* made after being protected by *Maxiscatzin*, who was the best Friend they had, and Lord of that Quarter. After the Country was subdu'd, for the better polishing of the Natives, with the Consent of the Republick, they came down to live in the Plain, where they now are, on the Bank of the River *Zahuatl*, which

signific

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signifies Water of Itch, because the Boys that bath'd in it generally had the Itch. Most sumptuous Buildings have been erected there, after the Manner of *Spain*; but to pass by what is at present, and return to our Purpose, the Town was divided into Parcels at small Distances, without any Order, as is us'd with us, many Houses crouded together, and between them several narrow winding Lanes. The Houses terrass'd at the Top on Beams, some of mud Walls, some Boarded, some of Brick, and some of Lime and Stone, according to every Man's Ability. They had no upper Floors, but all on the Ground, having very large Rooms of a strange Shape. Nor had they Doors, or Window Shutters, but only Mats made of a Sort of Sedge, which they hung on and took down at Pleasure, with Hawks-bells of Gold, or Copper, or other Metals, and Sea-Shells hanging on them, to make a Noise when they were taken down, or open'd, or shut, but they now build after the *Spanish* Fashion. Most of this Country is inhabited, for from the City there stretch'd out other Towns, like Suburbs, extending two or three Leagues beyond the Compass of it. Every House had its Land about it, and there were eighteen Towns, all of them belonging to *Tlascala*, the Inhabitants being above one hundred thousand; and all the Country round this Province was enclos'd by other Nations subject to the *Mexicans*, who had maintain'd War against *Tlascala* for sixty Years past, and press'd them on all Sides. These Nations were the *Tepeacans*, *Tominaqueans*, *Cholutecans*, *Huexocingos*, *Tetzcacans*, *Acolitucaqueans*, *Zacatecans*, and *Ulmecans*. The *Tlascallans* had expell'd the *Ulmecans* and *Zacatecans* out of their Country, and kept it to themselves, calling themselves at first *Chichimecans*, and inhabiting the Mountains of *Tepeticpaque*, whence came *Texcalicpac*, then *Texcala*, and lastly *Tlascala*. Having settled their

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Boundaries

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Boundaries to be known by, and refusing to submit to any King, or General, there ensu'd Civil Wars among them, conspiring against their best Commanders; Ambition taking Possession of those Barbarians, who could endure no Superior, or Equal, which occasion'd the aforesaid bloody Wars among them, carry'd on with the utmost Cruelty.

THE Prime Men were so hard press'd, that they crav'd Aid of *Tescuco*, and other Towns, being much streightned in *Tlascala*, tho' well secur'd with Ditches and Trenches. With those Succours they enlarg'd their Borders, and grew too hard for their Enemies, who ask'd Assistance of *Matzahuatzin*, King of *Mexico*. He sent Word to the *Tlascallans*, that tho' he had promis'd to assist their Enemies, it should be only in Show, for which Reason he pray'd them not to hurt the *Mexicans*. The *Tlascallans* return'd Thanks to the King of *Mexico* for that Favour, and had Recourse to Prayers, and Sacrifices, as they usually offer'd upon such Occasions, begging the Help of their Gods with Tears, Fasting, and Offerings. The Enemy's Army, among whom the *Huexocingans* were the chief, being in a Readiness, began to go up the Hill to *Tlascala*, and the Defendants sally'd upon them. They took one of the *Huexocingans*, and immediately went to sacrifice him before their Idol *Camaxtle*, fleaing him before he was quite dead, and one of them putting the Skin on himself, with the Guts hanging, stood before that Idol, where the Priests pray'd, and begg'd Victory. In the mean Time the Battle was maintain'd with a mighty Slaughter, till a great Fog rising, they kill'd, and threw one another down those Rocks and Precipices, without knowing what Side they were of. Whilst this was doing, the *Mexicans* went up a Hill, from whence they saw what was doing, and having seen the End, they return'd Home.

When

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When that War was over, those *Chichimecans* of *Tlascala*, struck a great Terror into the Country, and all the neighbouring *Culhas* and *Mexicans* joyn'd in Alliance with them, and living long in Peace, had Leisure to build their Towns, and settle the Frontiers. *Tlascala* enjoying Peace, all the Province was inhabited, and *Culhuacuth*, who was look'd upon as the only Lord, divided what he had with his Brother *Teyohualminqui*, and went down to govern his People into the Vale of *Ocuteculco*. These Brothers left the Sovereignty to two Sons of theirs, and one of them, tho' very brave, grew so tyrannical in his old Age, that the Subjects being uneasy, conspir'd, and slew him, and all his Friends, and Kindred; but two Nurses hid two young Sons of his, from whom descended *Maxiscatzin*, the most faithful Friend of the *Spaniards*. The other three Lords of *Tlascala* were of no less remarkable Descents. After the Death of *Culhuacutli*, the City, and its Territory began to be govern'd in the Nature of a Commonwealth. The *Mexican* Language was spoken at *Tlascala*, tho' there was another which they call'd *Otomick*, from a Nation, which revolting from the Kings of *Mexico*, was receiv'd by the *Tlascallans*, as their Subjects, and had Lands given them to till, and dwell on, on Condition, that they should guard the Frontiers against the *Mexicans*, and *Culhas*. These were the barbarous *Otomies* on whom the *Tlascallans* at first laid the Blame, for having taken up Arms against *Cortes*. They are very hardy, excellent Husbandmen, extraordinary Idolaters, lewd, filthy, very savage, and hard to be brought to Christianity; Drunkards, and fond of living in remote Places, being the reverse of those that speak the *Mexican* Tongue, who are docible, and polite. These *Otomies* were once possess'd of all that Country, of very antient Times, and there are of them scatter'd every where, but nothing is known

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known of their Original, because they are so barbarous, that they can give no Account of themselves, being bold, fierce, and brave in War, and much addicted to hunting.

THE Climate of *Tlascala* is so temperate, that some People went naked, and those who wore Cloaths, never made any Alteration in them for Summer or Winter. However, there is a colder Part, which is higher to the Northward, above the temperate Part of the Mountain, but so small, that it is scarce four Miles in Breadth, and ten in Length, which Country is fruitful, producing much *Indian* Wheat, and Fruit of the Country, as also of the *European* Cucumers, and Peaches, extending East and West, with great Towns. Beyond this again is another Ridge of Mountains, crossing all the Dominions of *Tlascala*, and some say all the *New World*, being the highest in *New-Spain*, is about eight Leagues over, so uncooth, that in some Places they are not habitable, and so cold and rainy, that only three Months in the Year are tollerable, the other nine being continually so clouded, that the Sun can give no Heat, but as soon as pass'd those Mountains, the Plains are hot again. To return to the other Division made by the Mountains before spoken of, there the cold, fruitful, and healthy Country begins, and the Waters run to the Southward, having their Source on the high Tops. All the Mountains are wooded, and close, where there are many wild Beasts, as Lyons, Tygers, and Wolves, that do much Mischief to the small Cattle. Besides there are other Creatures unknown to us, as also Snakes, large and small Vipers, Red and Fallow Deer, and other Sorts. As for Birds there are sometimes vast Flights of them, thought to come from the Northward, and are seen at the *Havana*, so thick, that they darken the Sky, and among them many Parrots. There are likewise wild Cats, Sables,
Monkeys,

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Monkeys, &c. Silver Mines are found in several Parts, as also Allom, and Copperace. The Mountains produce Pine, Oak, Beach, Cedar, Holm, and other Sorts of Trees, which afford Gum Anime, and Liquid Amber us'd for Perfumes, besides the Cakes they make of several Flowers. In some Places there is excellent Manna for purging, and good for weak Stomachs. It is wonderful to see that on this Mountain there are very agreeable Towns abounding in all Necessaries for human Life, as lying between the two Extreame, of the hot and the cold Countries, and they on the Eminence. The Mountain of *Tlascala*, which the Natives call of the Blew Sides, in their Tongue, being large, and wonderful fine, is enclos'd about with a most beautiful thick Wood of tall and large Trees, nothing being open but the Top of it, which is a sharp Point, cover'd during the greatest Part of the Year with Snow, and at a Distance it looks like a blew Rock, so even and well shap'd, that Nature seems there to have form'd a most regular Capitol. It is call'd the Mountain of *Tlascala*, because the greatest Part of it is in that Province. The Compass of it is eighteen Leagues, and there are on it many fierce and savage Beasts, and some black Cattle that were first carry'd from *Spain*, and are grown wild.

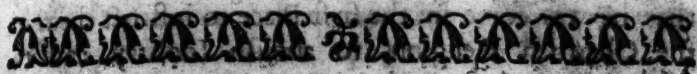
FROM this Mountain proceed all the Damps, Lakes, and Morasses about *Tlascala*, as do the Springs, and other wholesome Waters. There all the Clouds gather, during the six rainy Months, from *April* to *October*, and from thence proceed all the Storms, Hurricanes, and the Lightning, which is very fierce. The Length of it is above six Leagues. In this Province there are many Baths good for Diseases. The Rivers have but little Fish, which perhaps is occasion'd by the Violence of the Streams, and the great Falls. In a very deep Lake of sweet Water, near *Topayanco*, there is no Sort of

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of Fish, but one which is like little Alligators, the biggest not above a Span long, wholesome, and much valu'd. That Water is very agreeable, and all the Banks of it are inhabited by *Indians*, who there have their Corn Fields, Orchards, and Cochinilla, now so much us'd, which yields *Tlascala* two hundred thousand Ducats a Year, and was not regarded by the Natives, till they were taught by the *Spaniards*. They take out of the same Lake abundance of Rushes, and Sedges, for making of coarse Mats, which were all the Beds they formerly had, and they are very good to lay on the Ground, or set about Walls. The *Indians* go about upon this Lake on large Bundles of Rushes, close bound together, and round, like Trunks of Trees, the Water being so thin that it will not bear wooden Canoes. It is resorted to by great Numbers of Water Fowl, as Cranes, Geese, Ducks, and other Sorts, which the Natives took with Nets, and Gins. It remains to give an Account of the Religion, Customs, and other Particulars of the *Tlascallans*, which shall soon follow.



CHAP.



CHAP. V.

The Tlascallans pray Cortes to let them know his Design; his Answer; Prodigies concerning Strangers; the Religion, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Tlascallans; Cortes resolves to go to Mexico, and the Tlascallans to stand by him; James de Ordas looks into a burning Mountain.



CORTES being come into *Tlascala*, and receiv'd as has been said, to please *Maxiscatzin*, remov'd into his Quarter of the Town, call'd *Ocoteculco*, where a Market was kept every Week; and sixty thousand Persons met to sell, or barter, for they knew not what Money was, except only the Cacao, of which much will be said in this History. All Things proper for eating, cloathing, and other Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life were carry'd thither; as also Materials for Building. There were Gold-Smiths, Feather-Men, Barbers, Baths, and good Earthen Ware as in *Spain*. The four Lords that govern'd the Commonwealth, and other great Men went thither to discourse *Cortes*, and intreat him to acquaint them with his Intentions, promising to be sub-
servient to him in whatsoever he should propose.

Cortes, by his Interpreters, gave them to understand, that he was come in the first Place to instruct them in the Christian Religion, to abolish Idolatry, and to assist them against all their Enemies, and particularly *Motezuma*. *Maxiscatzin*, then reply'd, in Defence of their Gods, and *Cortes* rejoyn'd, still pressing them to renounce their Idols, and embrace Christianity; whereupon those Noblemen stood mute for a while, not knowing what to say; but *Cortes*, by the Advice of *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, and some of his Officers, thought fit not to urge the Point of Religion any farther at that Time, they promising not to eat any more human Flesh; yet they all return'd to it, as soon as he was out of the Way.

THE Spirit of God beginning to operate among the *Tlascallans*, some of them comply'd with *Cortes*; but others said, that since they had given him their Hearts, being the best Part of them, they begg'd of him not to compel them to provoke their Gods, and alarm the People, who must be consulted about an Affair of that Consequence. He finding it convenient to give them farther Time to consider, said, he would provide Ministers of the Christian Religion, to convince them more fully of their Blindness, and did not question but that they would return him Thanks for that Kindness; however in the mean Time he desir'd they would assign him a Chapel in that Temple, where he then resided, to offer Sacrifice after his Manner to God, and that they would come to see it. They consented, a Chapel was fitted, where Mass was said, and many of the prime *Tlascallans* went to see it, admiring what they saw, and being very attentive, whereupon some of them liking, stay'd with them. *Maxiscatzin* was most remarkable in his Friendship for *Cortes*, keeping always about him, for it is likely that God mov'd his Heart. With his Consent *Cortes* erected a great Cross in the

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Court of the Temple, and some say he did the like in other Places; but it is certain that was a very great one. When it was set up, many *Indians* of Credit said, they saw a Light from Heaven descend upon it in the Night, like a white Cloud, which continu'd three or four Years, till all the Country was entirely subdu'd. Before the coming of the *Spaniards*, they had often seen that white Cloud like a Pillar, frequently appearing to the Eastward, in the Morning, before the Sun was up. Others affirm'd, that it was like a Whirlwind rising in the Shape of a Bag from the top of the Mountain of *Tlascala*, and ascending up to Heaven, and when they saw it descend upon the Cross, they concluded it to have been a Presage of the coming of the new People; for which Reason the Natives paid much Respect to the Cross; and this was a Motive that induc'd many to believe what *Cortes* said. Others in a Consternation, calling to Mind the past Confusions and Frights, when that Pillar appear'd, and the Lamentations of the Inhabitants, knew not which way to turn themselves. Some also, being more harden'd, with their Priests, and in much Affliction, endeavour'd to be inform'd by Soothsayers and Sorcerers of the meaning of that unusual Appearance, and whether those *Spaniards* were immortal Sons of God, or Enchanters.

At *Mexico*, in the Year 1517, part of the God *Vuxiliputzli*'s Temple was burnt, without any Body setting Fire to it, nor could it be quenched with Water, which rather made the Flame the fiercer. Another Time, a small Rain falling, without any Thunder, a Flash of Lightning struck the Temple of *Tzomolco*; and they saw Comets in the Air in broad Day, the Sun shining, running by three and three from the West to the East, with such Force, that the Sparks flew from them, which occasion'd a great Consternation, and many

many Cries in that City, and the Parts adjacent. The Lake of *Mexico* rag'd without any Wind, rising and foaming up in such Manner, that it wash'd above half the Houses in the City, and some were born down. Two Men were several Times seen united in one Body, and other Times Bodies with two Heads, which were carry'd to *Motexuma's* black Palace. All that hapned at *Mexico* was known at *Tlascala*, and perplex'd them no less, than what they saw with their own Eyes. Before we proceed any farther it will be fit briefly to add something of the Religious Rites, Manners, and Policy of these People.

THESE Men who during their Paganism were so religious, had some Knowledge that there was one God above all the other Gods; that there was an Eternity; that there was a future Punishment; that there were Angels, and nine Heavens. They did not conceive that the World was round, but suppos'd it to be flat. They believ'd that the Sun and Moon slept when they were set, that they were Man and Wife, and that the Stars were subservient to them. They call'd Fire the God of Old Age, painting him very old. They thought the World had not been created, but form'd by Chance, and that the Heavens had no Beginning. They were not acquainted with the four Elements, nor their Operations; and it was their Opinion, that the World had been twice destroy'd; once by Floods and Tempests, when the Earth had been turn'd topsy turvy, and that the Men who then liv'd were Giants, whose Bones were found in the Clefts. That the other End of the World had been by Winds and Hurricanes, and that some People who escap'd, lying hid on the Mountains, were turn'd into Monkeys, and having lost the Use of Reason, they knew not how to speak. That the World is to end by Fire, the Earth opening and swallowing up Men, and the

the rest being burnt. It was their Opinion, that the Gods were to be invoc'd upon all Occasions, because nothing was done without their Will. The Variety of their Gods and Goddesses was very great, the chief of them being the Goddess of Lovers, who, they said, liv'd above the Air, and the nine Heavens, in very delightful Places, and attended by many Women like Goddesses, Dwarfs, crooked Persons, Jesters, and Buffoons, that diverted her with Musick and Dancing. That those People went on Messages to the Gods she was fond of; that their Business was spinning and weaving singular Curiosities, and they painted her very beautiful. Her Festival was celebrated yearly, and she had a sumptuous Temple, which was much resorted to. There was another Goddess of the Sorcerers, and Soothsayers; another of Covetousness and Avarice, and to perpetuate the Memory of those Gods and Goddesses, they gave their Names to Mountains, which continue to this very Day. When there was any Want of Rain they fasted, did Penance, and made Processions, and *Holoc* was their God of the Waters, Thunder and Lightning. A great Temple was dedicated to him, in which two Festivals were kept yearly, and their Prayers were very fervent. Their Religion differ'd little from that of the *Mexicans*, which shall also be spoken of in its Place.

THE World was by them divided into four Parts; and the Year was settled by the Sun and the Moon, with intercalary Days to make it out. The Months were computed by twenty Days of the Moon, and twenty Moons made a Year. Their Week consisted of thirteen Days, but there were great and little Weeks. Their Festivals were distributed throughout the Year, and all the Ceremonies establish'd that were to be observ'd on each of them. It was their Opinion, that the Provinces of *New Spain* had not been inhabited above

above four hundred Years, of which Time they gave a very good Account, but nothing beyond it. In this City of *Tlascala* was a Spring, held in great Veneration, to which they carry'd new born Children to be bath'd, in the Nature of Baptism, which they thought deliver'd them from Misfortunes, and there they offer'd Flowers, Perfumes, and sacrific'd Men. They were great Conjurers, Wizards, Soothsayers, and Diviners; us'd to cast Lots, and believ'd in Dreams and Prodigies. They saw strange Apparitions of the Devil in the Shape of a Lion, Tiger, or other borrow'd Body, and he would talk to them, and was known by having no Shadow, no small Bones in the Joints, neither Eyebrows, nor Eyelids, his Eyes round, without Balls, or White. They practis'd Abstinences, Fasts, Penances, Pilgrimages, and going certain Stations. Their Temples were pyramidal, with Steps going up to the Top, where was one or two little Chapels, and before them large Stone Columns, with Fires and Perfumes on them Day and Night. The Temples were serv'd by such as engag'd to do it during their Lives, and some for a set Time; who were maintain'd by the First-Fruits, and Offerings of what the Earth produc'd. They were very exact in the Service of the Temples, and the greatest Sacrifice was of Men, and Dogs, so that there were Shambles of Dogs sacrific'd; but the prime Sacrifice of all was that of the first Prisoner taken in War. One who had been a Priest, and was converted, said, that when they tore out the Heart of the wretched Person sacrific'd, it did beat so strongly, that he took it up from the Ground three or four times, till it cool'd by Degrees, and then he threw the Body still moving down the Steps. To know whether the Devil consented to what they ask'd, they offer'd him something like pounded Henbane, an Herb reckon'd of great Virtues for Di-

stemper;

stemmers, which they plac'd on certain Vessels on the Altar ; when the Priests came to see those Vessels, and found the Prints of Eagle's Feet in them, they declar'd the same to the People, and then they joyfully began the Solemnity with Trumpets, Drums, Horns, and other Instruments, the Multitude celebrating that Token given them by the Devil. When a Dearth hapned, they appointed a general Assembly on some known Mountains at a certain Day, cartying their Bows, Arrows, and Nets, and two or three thousand *Indians* went about killing Deer, wild Boars, and other Beasts. They ripp'd one open, and if they found in it any green Grass, or any Grain of Corn grown, they said the Year would be plentiful, and rejoyc'd, but if the Grass was wither'd, they were melancholy, and there the Devil spoke to them in strange Shapes, and discover'd many things.

THEY had such Temples as have been describ'd on the high Mountains. The Priests wore Miters, with Tiaras, or ornamental Circles about them, and were wont to set them on some of their Idols. They also us'd Featherwork to adorn their Tabernacles, and had Curtains before them ; always keeping Fires within the Temples, and great Lights on two Columns on the Sides of the Altars, excepting only five Days, which they call'd unlucky, when there was no Fire, after which they made new Fire with Sticks. They sung Lamentations, and melancholy Songs, having Prophecies of the End of the World, which they sung in dismal Tones ; and preserv'd the Memory of their great Actions in Verse, and Pictures, many of which the first of our religious Men that went thither caus'd to be burnt, out of a Christian Zeal, supposing them to have been Idolatrous. In sacrificing of Men they were very inhuman, for the Advantage of the Flesh, tho' they did not eat any but that of Enemies ; a

Custom

Custom which had not been long in use among them, proceeding from their violent Aversion, by way of Revenge on them, till it grew up to be customary to devour one another, so that there were publick Shambles of human Flesh. The antientest among them, said, that Practice first came from the Province of *Chalco*, as did their Idolatry, and their drawing Blood from their own Bodies, to offer it to their Gods. They drew it from their Tongues, and from their Eyelids, for having look'd, or spoken; from their Arms for having been guilty of Sloth; from their Thighs, Legs, Ears, and Nostrils, answerable to the Offences they had committed; and sold new born Babes, and Infants of two Years of Age, to pay their Vows, and offer them in the Temples, and sacrifice them for obtaining their Desires. Most of the People were of a poor Capacity, weak of Body, of mean Thoughts, pusillanimous, unsteady, and unfit for any Thing that is great. They were to be corrected, and led by fair Means. They avoided not any contagious Distempers, but suffer'd themselves to dye like Beasts; did eat little, and could live upon very slight Food. Notwithstanding, they soon learnt any thing they were taught; thought it no Shame to give one another the lie; were naturally vain-glorious, jealous, cowardly when alone and cruel; in Company with the *Spaniards* bold, and daring, and he that was found in a lie, dy'd for it. Their Dealers were sincere, kept their Words, and look'd upon it as dishonourable to sell their Houses, or to borrow. They honour'd old Men, and punish'd Thieves and Adulterers. The Sons of the Prime Men that prov'd undutiful to their Parents, were either strangled, or sent to the Frontiers, or plac'd on the Front of Battles, that they might be kill'd. Other Men also condemn'd for Crimes were sent to the Frontiers. Traitors, and all their Relations within the seventh Degree were put

to Death, and Cowards were despis'd. Sodomy was punish'd with Death, tho' practis'd in other Provinces. They own'd their Original was the same as that of the *Mexicans*. Drunkenness was prohibited, but in vain. None were allow'd to drink strong Liquor but ancient Men, or on great Solemnities, or such as had serv'd so long as to be exempt from going to War. Salt and Cotton were scarce, being all brought from abroad; nor had they any Cacao, Gold, Feathers, or Balsam, but what they gain'd in War, or was privately imported by Merchants. They were much addicted to Musick, Dancing and Singing, rich Cloaths, and Jewels, and the Women went to their Solemnities in very gay Apparel. Tennis was us'd among them, yet only by great Persons, and they had Games like Dice, which they call'd *Patol*, besides many other Sorts of Diversion.

CURIOUS Bowers, Baths, and Fountains were in Request, and they kept Jesters, Dwarfs, and little crooked Persons; valuing themselves upon having many Women, and *Xicotencatl* had five hundred, tho' they marry'd only one, or two. It was not allow'd to marry a Sister, Mother, Aunt, or Mother-in-Law; but their Weddings were very costly, all the Kindred offering at them; the Bridegroom's Relations gave the Cloaths, and Moveables for the Bride, Jewels, Men and Women Slaves, Thread, Cotton, Chests and Mats; and the Bride's Kindred gave Things proper for the Bridegroom, so that they were furnish'd for a long Time. Besides they made great Entertainments of Fowl, Venison, and other Dishes, and these Treats, with Games, Dancing, and other Diversions, lasted according to the Quality of the new marry'd Couple. Such like Ceremonies were observ'd when a Woman was brought to Bed; the new born Infants were wash'd in cold Water, as were the Women as soon as deliver'd;

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deliver'd; and tho' they had so many Women, they would have them live modestly. It hapned, that a Son of *Xicotencatl* fell in Love with a beautiful young Girl, he ask'd her of her Friends, took her Home, and she was kept as one of the rest. That Creature being an Hermophrodite, some Time after had to do with several of the other Women, and in a Year's Time whilst his Master was absent got twenty of them with Child. The Women were not put to Death, because the Master had plac'd the Hermophrodite among them, but they were turn'd off, which was a great Disgrace. The wretched Hermophrodite was carry'd to the Place for sacrificing of Malefactors, the Crime he had committed against his Lord, Master, and Husband proclaim'd, and being stripp'd naked, they cut open his left Breast with a sharp Flint, and so let him go where he would, and thus he went bleeding, and the Boys throwing Stones at him, about a Quarter of a League, and then fell down dead. The two principal Wives were honour'd, and respected by the others, and commanded, and sent them well dress'd to lye with their Husbands, when they desir'd it. There were several Ways of talking among them; some were profess'd Orators, some spoke Gibrish, others had pleasant Tales to make People laugh, and in the *Mexican* Language there were Proverbs, and Riddles. The Sons of great Men had Tutors to instruct them.

It is remarkable that all the Natives both of *North* and *South America* are of the same Temper, and Disposition, because, according to the most probable Opinion, they all had the same Original, as had those of the Islands, whither they pass'd over from the Continent of *Florida*; but they differ'd much in their Rites and Customs, and accordingly those of *Mexico* shall be spoken off in their Place. At *Tlascala* they had a common Goal for Malefactors, and Judges

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try them according to their Laws, and Usages. An Indian stole a small Quantity of Gold from a *Spaniard*, *Maxiscatzin* being inform'd of it, such strict Search was made, that they brought him from *Chulula*, and deliver'd him to *Cortes*, who taking no notice of him, he was carry'd to the Market, and being set on a Scaffold, his Brains were knock'd out with a Club. Signals were given from the Temples with Horns, and Cornets, at Midnight, Noon, Break of Day, Night-fall, and other Hours. When the Building of a House was finish'd, they made much Rejoycing with Dances, that the God of Houses might be favourable to them; and the same when they made their new Liquors, that no Disasters might befall them; and so nothing was done without calling upon their Gods. This Province of *Tlascala* was very populous, because it was resorted to from others, to be freed from the Slavery they were under to their Kings, and Lords, and all that rebell'd took Shelter there. They wore a Sort of close Jerkins without Sleeves, or Neckbands, having only a Hole for the Head to pass through, which scarce reach'd down to their Knees, and over that a Mantle curiously wrought with Figures, and of several Colours. Those that could not attain to Cotton, were cloath'd with an Herb call'd *Maguey*; a Name us'd in the Island *Hispaniola*, but its proper Name was *Mel*, like a Thistle, having large Stems, with very sharp Prickles at the End, each Stem being above two Spans broad; from which they draw Thread, the Hurds serving to make Buskins, and Cords, and the Stalks to burn, and cover Houses. This Herb yields a good Sort of Honey, and they make of it Wine, or Liquor to drink, and Vinegar; also Paper, like our brown Paper, which the Natives us'd for their Characters. The Heart or Pulp of it is sweet, pleasant, and wholesome, and of it they make a good Preserve.

serve. The Stems roasted yield a Balsam for Wounds, and strange Cures have been wrought with it. In case of Need those very Stems may be writ on, and the Prickle serves instead of a Pen. It yields no Fruit till past ten Years standing, and lasts till twenty. No mean Person wore Cotton Garments, with Fringes, Trimming, or Fulness, but single, plain, and short, without any Edging, so that every Man was known by his Garb. The Lords, or Caziques, which Name was carry'd over from the Island *Hispaniola*, were ador'd by their Subjects, who spoke to them in most humble Manner. When they discours'd them, they crouch'd on their Hams, without sitting down on the Ground, or lifting up their Eyes to look upon the Lord, or spitting, or any Motion, and at taking Leave they stood up, hanging down the Head, retiring backwards, without turning their Backs. The Tribute they paid was of the Product of the Earth; and the poorest Person, who had nothing else, gave Lice, and some say, little Worms, but most say they were Lice. This was chiefly us'd in the Province of *Mechoacan*, for King *Cazonzin*, order'd that none should be exempt from paying Tribute, tho' it were but in Lice. They loaded themselves like Beasts, and serv'd their Lords personally, without any other Interest than being under their Protection, and therefore they call'd themselves their Slaves.

THE Nobility was highly respected, and there were among them settled Families that had very good Estates. Sixty Lords of Vassals liv'd in the City, in very fine Palaces, and though a Nobleman were ever so poor he practis'd no mechanick Employment. They had a sort of Ceremony of making Knights in the Temples, after having fasted sixty Days, and then spent much upon that Festival, none being admitted to this Honour but such as had gain'd something in War.

or perform'd some notable Exploit, or given good Advice for the Publick; and Merchants that acquir'd much Wealth were ennobled. Those Gentlemen serv'd the Commonwealth, and were honour'd and respected. When they went to War, a General was appointed; the Standard of the Republick was carry'd in the Rear; when the Fight was over they fix it where all might see it, and punish'd any that did not resort to it. They carry'd two Arrows to their Wars, as Relicks of the first Founders of their City; one of them they shot at their Enemies, if it kill'd or wounded any Body, that was a Token of Victory, if not of Loss, but come what would, that Arrow was to be recover'd. They observ'd some sort of Order in their Battles, attacking and retiring seasonably. One Battallion advanc'd against another, engag'd with much Fury, and push'd on, or gave way, as their Strength would permit, and so others went on one after another, till the whole Armies engag'd; those Battallions march'd not in Rank and File, but close crowded together. When they perceiv'd any Signs of Victory they proclaim'd it, calling upon their Gods, following the Pursuit, taking as many as they could, which was their chiefest Booty. They us'd Ambushes, and other martial Stratagems; when Towns did not Surrender immediately, they plunder'd and destroy'd them. In Fight they gave great Shouts, sounding Horns and wooden Trumpets, Dancing and Singing, and encouraging one another. The first Weapons they us'd were Bows and Arrows, which also serv'd them to hunt, and maintain themselves. They had Slings, and Darts, hardned in the Fire, above half a Yard long, which they cast with Leather Thongs in a very violent manner, the Points of them arm'd with Fish Bones, or Copper, or Flint, as were their Arrows; and they had Targets, and for their Defence made use of

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of Ditches, and Trenches; look'd out for strong Places, drove Stakes with sharp Points above, and cover'd them with Earth; poison'd the Waters of Rivers and Springs; fought naked, and painted with variety of Colours. The richer Sort us'd Armour stuff'd with Cotton, and had their Devices of wild Beasts, Tygers, Lyons, Bears, Eagles, and others adorn'd with Gold, and Feathers of curious Colours, artificially wrought. The Commanders who return'd Victorious were receiv'd in triumphant manner; the Conquer'd marching before them. When any Truce was concluded between *Mexico* and *Tlascala*, the *Mexicans* sent the *Tlascallans* rich Presents, of such Things as they wanted, without acquainting the People, and privately saluted one another, observing Decency. Eighteen Years before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, the *Mexicans* thinking to subdue the *Tlascallans*, began the War with all their Power, and privately propos'd to the *Otomies*, to give them great Rewards if they would stand Neuters, when the *Tlascallans* were engag'd; but they would not consent, and so the War was carry'd on with much Fury, taking Prisoners of both side, and putting the chief Men into Cages. Some have fancy'd that *Motezuma* could have subdu'd that Province, and did it not for some Reasons that shall be mention'd hereafter.

THERE remains nothing to be said of the *Tlascallans*, but what relates to the Dead. The *Indians* in general were very fond of making Songs of their Actions, sung calamitous Accidents in Elegiack Verse, and wept at Funerals, eating and drinking at the dead Person's House. When a great Man dy'd, they plac'd him sitting on a Bier very finely dress'd, and adorn'd, or if he was a King the same was done, having his Diadem on his Head, and thus he was carry'd by the prime Persons, his Wives and Children lamenting, and
others

others proclaiming his notable Exploits. If the Body was burnt, those Wives he had lov'd best, cast themselves into the Fire with it, as did some Men and Women Slaves, who were said to go attend them in the other World. If they had any Dwarfs, or deformed Persons among them, those also were burnt, with much Gold, Feather Work, Cloathing, and Provisions, to serve them by the Way till they came to the Place of Joy and Residence of their Gods; for they believ'd there was a future Reward for the Good, and a Place of Punishment for the Wicked. If the Body was bury'd in arch'd Sepulchres they us'd, then the same Persons were also bury'd with it alive.

Cortes being satisfy'd that his Friendship with the *Tlascallans* was establish'd, propos'd his Journey to *Mexico*, and though they represented to him the Power of *Motezuma*, the Strength of the City, the Danger he was running into among the *Culhuas*, who they said were given to Change, and Faithless, as also their Multitude; in Conclusion, to please him, they consented to all he said, and offer'd to assist him, if he would make War, or to bear him Company, if, as he said, he only design'd to visit *Motezuma*. Accordingly, they immediately began to appoint Commanders, raise Men, and lay up Provisions. The Fame of the Alliance between the *Spaniards* and the *Tlascallans* being spread Abroad, put all the Country into a Consternation, and especially *Motezuma*, who was still resolv'd to obstruct *Cortes's* coming to *Mexico*, though at the same Time, in order to draw him from *Tlascala*, he propos'd his removing to *Chulula*, where he would be better entertain'd. The *Tlascallans* earnestly oppos'd it, and zealously offer'd fifty thousand Men to attend him; because the People of *Chulula*, after having been long at Peace with them, being corrupted by *Motezuma*, had in a Battle they had with the *Mexicans*, in which

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which the *Tlascallans* led the Van, fallen in upon their Rear, and kill'd many of them; since which time they had been Enemies. The *Tlascallans* advis'd *Cortes* to consider, that the *Chulullans* said, they did not fear him, because their God *Quetzalcoatl* was so powerful, that he would destroy his Men with Fire from Heaven, or drown them with Water; that the *Tlascallans* might go with them, who like base Cowards, had so soon submitted to a strange Nation, and therefore deserv'd to be severely punish'd; that they were a degenerate People, having lost the Reputation of the immortal Renown of the *Chichimecas*, who first inhabited that Country; that they might come like vain mad Men as they were, and should be soon sensible of the Omnipotency of their God *Quetzalcoatl*, who would send Streams of Water out of his Temple to consume them and the *Spaniards*. Nor were the *Tlascallans* a little afraid that the same would fall out as those People said.

NINE Sons of the prime Men of the Quarter of *Ocotelulco* were appointed Commanders of the Troops that were to attend *Cortes* from thence, whose Device was a green Bird on a Rock. The other Quarters nominated thirteen Commanders, and the Arms of the Quarter of *Quiyahuitzlan* were, a Plume of green Feathers, in the manner of an Umbrella, and half a Fan; those of the Quarter of *Tuzatla* were, a white Heron on a Rock; and those of the Ward of *Tepeticpac*, a ravenous Wolf on Rocks, holding a Bow and Arrows. The several Commanders had also their peculiar Colours, and all were very gay, and with Plumes of Feathers after their manner. Certain it is, that the *Tlascallans* were very dubious of the Event of that Journey, being apprehensive of the *Chulullans*, and bearing much Respect to their City, for as much as it was a Place of great Devotion, and reputed Sanctity among them.

them. *Cortes*, by the Advice of the Lords of the four great Wards of *Tlascala*, sent to call those that govern'd at *Chulula* to him. The *Tlascallan* Messengers bid them to go at the Command of *Cortes*, otherwise they would be destroy'd by the fiery Engines, by the fierce Creatures, and white dreadful Weapons, and by the furious Lyons, so they call'd the Dogs. The *Chulullans* on the one Hand excus'd themselves, alledging, that they were Sick, and at the same Time flead the Face of *Patlabuatzin*, a Man of Quality, and his Arms as far as his Elbows, and cut off his Hands, of which he dy'd, as *Camargo*, in his History of *Tlascala* asserts, and that the *Tlascallans* to this Day keep up the Memory of this Fact in their Songs, where they say, that Gentleman was the Chief of the Embassy. Others say, that *Ferome de Aguilar* went with them, to endeavour to bring the *Chulullans* to reason, and that they repair'd to *Cortes*, to show their Submission. The *Tlascallans* were much provok'd by this Cruelty, looking upon it as a great Affront, begging of *Cortes*, that he would give them Leave to take their Revenge; but he promising to do it himself, and giving them good Words, they rested satisfy'd. The *Chulullans* that came to *Cortes* were three of the Council, who had been shut up in a Cage by the other three, for having advis'd to admit of the Alliance of the *Spaniards*, and they having broke out of the Cage, by the help of their Friends, went away to *Cortes*.

EIGHT Leagues from the City of *Tlascala* is the Mountain call'd *Popocatepec*, the Top whereof always smoak'd, and whilst the *Spaniards* were at *Tlascala*, and for some Time after, it cast out more Fire than usual, to the great Astonishment of the Natives. *James de Ordaz* took a Fancy to see that Wonder, for till then it was a strange Thing to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* affirm'd, that no Mortal had ever been at the Top of

that Mountain. *Cortes*, to show the *Indians* that the *Spaniards* made small Account of what they thought impracticable, was well pleas'd that *Ordas* should go upon that Action. He took with him some *Spaniards*, and a few *Indians* for Guides, who stopp'd at a certain Distance, and *Ordas* advancing, they heard the dreadful Noise there was within, felt the Earth quake, and arriv'd at the Place to which the Fire and Stones cast out of the Mountains reach'd, the great Quantity of Ashes choaking up the Way. These Things making some uneasy, and being very weary with going up, they would willingly have turn'd back; but *Ordas* telling them it was a Shame for *Spaniards* who had undertaken any thing, not to go through with it, tho' at the Expence of their Lives, they advanc'd courageously, making their way through the Ashes; and arriving at length at the Top, through a thick Smoak, for some Time view'd the Mouth, which seem'd to them to be round, and above a Quarter of a League in Compass, with a deep Cavity, within the which the Fire rag'd as it does in a Glas-house. From that Eminence appear'd the great City of *Mexico*, seated in its Lake, and the other noted Towns about it. Not being able to make any longer Stay, by reason of the excessive Heat, he return'd the same Way he came for the Benefit of the Track. This burning Mountain was another Time view'd by *Andrew de Tapia*, and afterwards by *Montaño* and *Mesa*, as shall be mention'd in its Place. The *Indians* being astonish'd that mortal Men should do such an Action, kiss'd their Garments, believing that to be one of the Mouths of Hell, where such Lords as were Tyrants suffer'd for their Sins, and afterwards went to rest. The *Spaniards* call'd this Mountain *Bolcán*, because it was like *Mongibelo*, or Mount *Etna* in *Sicily*. It is so high, that it is seen at many Leagues distance, never without Snow,
and

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and about it is the most populous and fruitful Land in *New Spain*. The nearest Town is *Guaxocingo*, large, plentiful, and sightly, standing at the Bottom. This Hill for ten Years together cast forth no Smoak, and in 1540 began again with such a prodigious Smoak and Noise, as struck a Terror for four Leagues about, and the Ashes that came from it flew as far as *Guaxocingo*, *Quetlaxcopan*, *Tepeaca*, *Clulula*, and *Tlascala*, destroying Plants, and Trees, and doing other Mischief, which put the nearest Inhabitants into such a Fright, that they had Thoughts of abandoning the Country.

The End of the Fourth Book.



R r 2 THE



THE
General HISTORY

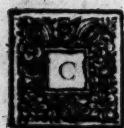
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

AMERICA, &c.

DECAD. II. BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Cortes marches out of Tlascala, arrives at Chulula; chastizes those People for conspiring to destroy him; Motezuma invites him to Mexico, but endeavours to deter him; he sets out; a Mutiny among his Men; he appeases it.



CORTES being much press'd by Motezuma's Embassadors to depart out of Tlascala, they always endeavouring to raise a Jealousy in him of that Nation, and being willing to ease the Tlascallans of the great Dread they had conceived of the Gods of Chulula, he resolv'd to remove to this

last Place, after he had resided twenty Days in *Tlascala*, and been thoroughly inform'd of all that related to the City of *Mexico*, its Situation, and the Power of *Moteczuma*, and his Empire; and having before his Departure concluded a Peace between *Guanacingo* and *Tlascala*, obliging both Parties to restore all that had been taken during the War. He was attended at his Setting out by one hundred thousand Men; many being much concern'd at his going upon that Enterprize, believing he would be lost, and others concluding that his Valour would extricate him from all Difficulties. An infinite Number of the common People flock'd to see the *Spaniards* march; the Fields were throng'd with Women and Children, who never thought they could gaze enough on those People, admiring their Boldness in venturing to go to *Mexico*, which to them was very amazing. In this Astonishment some of them cry'd, "Your great God protect you, and grant you Victory over those our Enemies." Others said, "It is but fit that the wicked *Moteczuma* feel the Effects of your Valour." What they most admir'd was the small Number of the *Spaniards*. Merchants went along with them to trade for Cotton, and Salt. The *Chulullans*, to whom the Interpreter *Aguilar* had protested, that *Cortes* would make War with them, unless they went to submit themselves to the King of *Spain*, being inform'd, that he was upon his March, with so great an Army, sent several great Men, who said, they had not come before, because the *Tlascallans* their mortal Enemies were wicked, and false, whereas they themselves were good and sincere; and then they in solemn Manner declar'd themselves Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*. They reach'd not the City that Day, to avoid entering by Night, tho' the Distance was but five or six Leagues; but encamp'd near a Brook, where the *Chulullans* pray'd *Cortes* not to permit the *Tlascallans* to

do them any Harm. He seeing no Likelyhood of any War, order'd them to return Home, taking his Leave of the Officers with much Courtesy and Affection, and presenting them with such Things as he had, in which Particulars he was very obliging, and generous. He retain'd with him three thousand *Tlascallans*, under such Commanders as were most affectionate to him; tho' some say they were six thousand, and would not take a greater Number, to avoid putting himself into the Hands of a barbarous People, of whose Fidelity till then he had but little Tryal. The *Tlascallans* said, those People where he was going were faithless Traders, that he must be upon his Guard, because they never kept Faith, and then as an Instance mention'd how they had betray'd them. They offer'd to go to *Mexico*, whensoever they should be call'd, and declar'd they would most willingly have proceeded with their whole Army, to see the Event of that Affair; but *Cortes* told them, he was very well satisfy'd with those he had, they being worth four Times as many. The next Day above ten thousand *Chulullans* came out to meet him, in several Parcels, bringing Roses, Flowers, Bread, Fowl, and Musick. One Parcel of them came up to welcome *Cortes*, and then drew off in good Order, to give Way for another; which was done because that City being divided into six large Wards, three of them were for *Motexuma*, and three were not. When they came to the City, which the *Spaniards* thought to be very like *Vallad'id*, for its Situation, and Prospect, all the rest of the People came out, much surpriz'd at the Shape, Mien, and Weapons of the *Spaniards*. Their Priests advanc'd, in white Garments, like Surplices, their Arms naked, and Cotton Fringes about the Edges of their Robes. Some of them carry'd Idols in their Hands, and others burnt Perfumes; others sounded Hornets, beat Kettle Drums, and play'd on several

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several Sorts of Musick, all of them singing, and some perfuming the *Spaniards*.

IN this pompous Manner they enter'd *Chulula*, and went to a House, where they lodg'd all together in Safety, and their *Indians* with them, always upon their Guard, being for the present plentifully supply'd with Provisions. A few Days after *Cortes* began to observe certain bad Signs, and was told, that some of the Streets were barricado'd, and abundance of Stones laid on the Tops of the Houses, to throw down; besides that the Supplies of Provisions grew shorter, the great Men, and Commanders of the City seldom visited him, and *Moteczuma's* Embassadors started Objections against his going to *Mexico*, with more Boldness than before. Nor was this all, for the *Chulullans*, by Order of the *Mexican* Embassadors, had presum'd to tell him, that there were Alligators, Tygers, and other fierce Creatures where *Moteczuma* was, the which, if he order'd them to be turn'd loose, would devour the *Spaniards*; to which he answer'd, He could not believe that such a Prince as he would put any Affront upon those that came to visit him from so great a Monarch as the King of *Spain*, but that in case he should do so, they were to understand that those Savage Animals did not hurt the *Spaniards*. These Things made him revolve with himself, how he should subdue the People of *Chulula*, and proceed upon his Journey, before some fresh Obstacle occur'd. He was inform'd that this Answer of his had been told to *Moteczuma*, who had said, that the *Spaniards* were able with their Weapons to destroy the fiercest Creatures; and hereupon he sent other Messengers with a new Present, still endeavouring to dissuade the Journey to *Mexico*, and they finding *Cortes* positive upon performing it, promis'd mighty Rewards to the Lords of the three Quarters of *Chulula*, if they would cut off the *Spaniards*, giving their Commander in chief
a Gold

a Gold Drum from *Moteczuma*, and promising to assist him with thirty thousand Men they had at Hand. That Commander undertook to perform the same, upon Condition that the *Mexicans* should not come into the City, because he fear'd they would make themselves Masters of it.

To this Effect they agreed to barricade the Streets, and then pelt the *Spaniards* from the Tops of their Houses, so that they might take and deliver them up bound, the thirty thousand *Mexicans* being so posted, that without coming into the City they might take all the *Spaniards* that should happen to escape out of it. For the better managing of this Affair, they began to convey away their Goods, and secure their Wives and Children, not on the Mountain, as *Gomara* says, because there is none near *Chulula*. Whilst *Cortes* was thus uneasy, and dissatisfy'd, observing how ill he was us'd, *Marina* acquainted him, that a Lady of Quality, her particular Friend had told her, in private, that having taken a Kindness for her, since they had been acquainted, she advis'd her, if she would avoid being kill'd with the *Spaniards*, to stay with her, and she would hide her in a House, where she should be safe, because the *Mexicans* and the *Chulullans* had agreed to destroy them, when they least thought of it, or were marching away. *Cortes*, to lose no Time, caus'd two Persons he observ'd to be very busy, and were Priests, to be seiz'd, who being examin'd asunder, and threatened, confess'd the same that *Marina* had declar'd. Hereupon he call'd to him the Prime Men and Priests, and bid them not to deal under hand, but if they had any thing to say to him, to speak plain, like Men of Honour. They answer'd they were his Servants, that he might let them know it, when he design'd to depart, and they would attend him arm'd, for fear of any Difference between him and the *Mexicans*. He told

told them, he would set out the next Day, and therefore order'd they should find Men to carry the Baggage, and furnish him with Provisions. They smil'd at it, he charg'd them to perform it out of hand, because he was resolv'd to be gone. He then call'd the *Spanish* Officers, told them how those Matters stood, and ask'd their Advice, and they all leaving the Management to him, he said he was resolv'd to make an Example of those People; which he thought the more necessary, that they might be the safer in *Mexico*.

THE next Day, the *Chulullans* thinking they had a sure Game to play, carry'd the Men that were to be loaded, with some Provisions. But for as much as those *Indians* never us'd to undertake any considerable Enterprize without consulting their Gods, they sacrific'd ten Children of three Years of Age, half Boys and half Girls, being the usual Sacrifice upon commencing a War, and if it fell out unlucky, they laid the Fault on some Defect in the performing of that Offering. Their Commanders posted themselves with as many of their Men as they could very unconcern'd, at the four Gates of the Quarters through which the *Spaniards* were to pass out. *Cortes*, who omitted nothing that was conducing to his own Safety, had order'd his Men to be at Arms, the Horse to be ready, and the *Tlascallans* and *Zempoalans* to observe when the Signal was given by firing a Musket. When all Things were to his Mind, he call'd in the principal *Chulullans*, pretending, that he would take his Leave of them. Forty of them were admitted, and more would have come, if they might; but the antientest of them being wanting, he was sent for. *Cortes* then in the Presence of the *Mexican* Embassadors, said, He had lov'd them as Friends, and they had hated him as an Enemy, as appear'd by their Usage, tho' all his Men had been orderly, and inoffensive; that they had de-

fir'd the *Tlascallans* might not come into their Country, and he, to please them, had consented to it, and that tho' he had advis'd them to deal fairly with him, and to challenge him like brave Men, if they had any Thing against him, yet they had agreed with the *Mexicans* to destroy his Forces, thinking it would not be known, for which most heinous Offence he had resolv'd to put them all to Death, and raze their City. They were for a while struck dumb, and beside themselves, and being a little recover'd, said, " This Man " is like our Gods, who know all Things ; it is in " vain to deny any Thing ; " And accordingly they confess'd, that all he said was true. Then taking four or five of them aside, he ask'd them, for what Reason they would have done such a wicked Deed. They answer'd, That *Motezuma* was so averse to his going to *Mexico*, that his Embassadors, to obstruct it, had put them upon it. *Cortés* told the Embassadors what the *Chulullans* said, but at the same Time pretended not to believe *Motezuma* could be guilty of so foul a Design, and they endeavour'd to excuse themselves. The Signal of firing a Musket being then given, the *Spaniards* sallied out, and meeting with little Opposition from the Inhabitants, tho' they were in Arms, kill'd almost six thousand of them, without touching Women, or Children, for so they had been commanded ; and set fire to all the Houses and Towers where any Resistance was made. The Cries of the *Indians* on both Sides were prodigious, and the Confusion with the Fire and Slaughter not to be express'd. Many Gentlemen got up into the Tower of the great Temple, with the Priests, where they stood upon their Defence, doing some Harm. Their Lives were offer'd them if they would surrender ; only one of them comply'd, and was well receiv'd, the rest were all burnt. The Cross-Bow Men shot those that were got up to the

Tops

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Tops of the Trees in the Court of the Temple, and it was observ'd, that the Priests complain'd of their Gods for not defending them. A great Part of the City was plunder'd; the *Spaniards* took the Gold, and Feather Work, tho' not much of it was found, and their *Indians* had the Cotton and the Salt, which was a great Satisfaction to them. The News of what had hapned was immediately carry'd to *Tlascala*, where the Lords of the Republick order'd their General *Xicotencatl* to march with all Speed to the Assistance of their Friends, who soon came to offer their Service, and *Cortes* having return'd Thanks, presented the General, and other Officers, and sent them back well pleas'd to *Tlascala*, where the Joy was incredible for the considerable Booty taken from their Enemies, and no less for being free from the Fire from Heaven, and Tempests, with which the *Chulullans* threatned to destroy the *Spaniards*, and all their Adherents.

THE Lords that were Prisoners, with Tears, intreated *Cortes* to put a Stop to his Resentment, since they were not so much to Blame for what had hapned as the King of *Mexico*, and to permit two of them to go see what was become of the Multitude. He thereupon order'd the Slaughter to cease, and immediately many stood up, who had lain on the Ground among the dead to avoid Death. So great was the Authority of the two Lords of the Commonwealth, whom *Cortes* permitted to go about the City, that the next Day it was full of People, and as quiet as if nothing had hapned. He set at Liberty the other Lords and Gentlemen he had taken Prisoners, at the Request of *Maxiscatzin*, and other noted Persons of *Tlascala*, and *Guaxacingo*, who had resorted to him; telling them, they might be thankful that he did not entirely subvert the City, and put them all to the Sword, for so he was wont to punish Traitors. He then propos'd a Reconciliation

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ciliation between them and the *Tlascallans*, that they might be as they had been before they became Enemies through the Instigation of the King of *Mexico*, as has been said. By the Advice of *Cortes* they also made Choice of a new General, the former being dead, and that City was a Republick as well as *Tlascala*. Next he order'd the *Tlascallans*, and his other confederate *Indians* to clear the Court of the great Temple, and the nearest Streets, of the dead Bodies, because they began to stink.

Chulula was the principal Republick in all *New-Spain*, next to *Tlascala*, but the first of all in Point of Religion, wherein it surpass'd all the other *Indians*. It was a very populous City, seated in a delicious Plain, and consisting of twenty thousand Houses, besides as many more were scatter'd abroad in the Nature of Farms; the many Towers of the Temples affording a beautiful Prospect, some affirming that there are as many Temples as there are Days in the Year, and some of them having two Towers, they were reckon'd to be above four hundred; and it is attested by many, that above six thousand Children of both Sexes were there sacrific'd yearly. The Government was in a Captain General, chosen by the Republick, with six Noblemen, and the Priests, nothing being undertaken but what was first examin'd by Way of Religion; for which Reason this City was call'd the Sanctuary of the Gods. Its Territory produces much *Cochinilla*, and is very fruitful for Grain, and grazing of Cattle. The Men and Women are of a good Stature, and Aspect, and the latter addicted to Works proper for the female Sex, as Spinning, and Weaving, and not to be Goldsmiths, and Carvers, as *Gomara* was ill inform'd. There were very considerable Merchants, who traded into remote Parts; the poorer Sort were cloth'd in *Nequen*, which is the Sort of Cloth or Stuff made of

Magney

Maya, and the Rich wore Cotton border'd with Feather Work, and the Hair of Rabbits. In this City the *Spaniards* found Beggars, which they had not seen before in *New-Spain*, and it was told them, that they went thither in Pilgrimage, because of the Veneration paid to those Temples. The chief God was *Quezacotl*, which signifies, the God of the Air, being the first Founder of that City, and they affirm'd he had been a Virgin, and instituted Fasting, drawing Blood from the Tongue and Ears, and sacrificing of Doves, and Turtles. He wore a white Garment down to his Feet, for Modesty, and over it a Mantle strew'd with red Crosses. They had some green Stones of his, which they preserv'd, and held in great Veneration, as Relicks; one of them very naturally resembled a Monkey's Head. There was a vast Commerce for several Things in the City, and that which the *Spaniards* most admir'd during their Stay there, was the Earthen Ware, as beautiful and fine as that of *Faenza* in *Italy*, whereof a very great Quantity was sold in the Markets.

WHAT had hapned at *Chulula* was soon reported throughout all the Country, and much admir'd. The Lords of *Tepeaca* thereupon sent to offer their Service to *Cortes*, with a Present of thirty Women Slaves, and some Gold, which somewhat inclin'd the *Spaniards*, who before were unwilling to go to *Mexico*, to comply with *Cortes*. The Inhabitants of *Guaxocingo* likewise sent a Present to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Eight of wrought Gold, in a wooden Box adorn'd with Gold Plates. *Moteczuma*, who knew what was done, us'd all Arts to divert *Cortes* from going, being convinc'd it would not turn either to his Satisfaction or Interest, being very desirous to keep those strange People at a Distance from him. *Cortes* thought that whatsoever Way he might afterwards proceed,

ceed, it was requisite to take a View of that City, where he concluded he was already fear'd on Account of his past Actions, and the Fame of the Valour of his Men. He thereupon told *Moteczuma's* Embassadors, that he could not conceive why so great a Prince, who had so often assur'd him of his Friendship, should endeavour to destroy him by the Hands of others, and to obstruct his Journey, which he was fully resolv'd to perform, tho' it were by Force. Having spoken these Words in a harsher Manner than he was wont to do, they were amaz'd, excus'd *Moteczuma*, intreated him not to be angry, and desir'd he would permit one of them to go to *Mexico*, since the Way was short, and he would soon return with an Answer. The Messenger set out immediately, and gave *Moteczuma* Notice of *Cortes's* Displeasure, and the Resolution he had taken. Six Days after he return'd with one of his Companions, who went away before. They brought him ten Gold Dishes, one thousand five hundred Cotton Garments, and a considerable Quantity of Provisions, solemnly swearing that *Moteczuma* had been altogether a Stranger to what was done at *Chulula*; that the thirty thousand *Mexicans* were the Garrisons of *Acazingo* and *Azacan*, two Provinces belonging to him, and adjoyning to *Chulula*, with the which they were in Alliance; that he would always be as sincerely his Friend as they had declar'd; and that he might freely go to *Mexico*, the only Reason why he had been desir'd to forbear, being the Consideration of the Difficulty and Danger of the Journey. *Cortes* was well pleas'd with this Answer, because he had not receiv'd any before so plain. It was positively affirm'd, that as soon as *Moteczuma* had Advice of the Slaughter made at *Chulula*, and *Cortes's* Resolution to go to *Mexico*, he said, those were the People who (as had been foretold) were to conquer that Nation; and that then shutting himself up in the great
Temple,

Temple, he continu'd there eight Days, in Prayer, Fasting, and Sacrificing abundance of Men, thinking to avert what was decreed; and that the Devil, whom he was wont to consult spoke to him, and bid him not fear, for that the Christians were few in Number, and he had many brave Subjects, and might dispose of them as he pleas'd, and therefore he must not cease sacrificing Men, lest some Disaster should befall him, but endeavour to gain the Favour of his Gods *Vuzziliputi* and *Tezcateputla*.

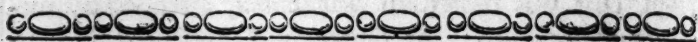
Cortes thinking it Time to proceed on his Enterprize, when he had been fourteen Days at *Chulula*, having dispos'd all Things as was most convenient, reconcil'd the Inhabitants of the City, and the *Tlascallans*, and dismiss'd the *Zempoalans*, most of them desiring to return Home for Fear. He set out attended by the Lords of *Chulula*, to the great Admiration of the *Mexican* Embassadors, who never believ'd him to be in Earnest till they saw it, and it was very remarkable to observe how they every Moment sent Advice to *Moteczuma* of all that hapned. *Cortes* would not go that Road which the *Mexicans* advis'd him, being inform'd that it was very uncooth, which they did to make out what they had said to him, but he took another that was plainer. He march'd four Leagues the first Day, and quarter'd at Night in some Villages belonging to *Guaxocingo*, where the *Spaniards* were well entertain'd. They gave *Cortes* a Present of Gold, and Cotton Garments, tho' small, because they were poor, being much oppress'd by *Moteczuma*, and now they are rich by the Growth of the *Cochinile*, and other Product. The next Day, after Noon, they march'd through a Pass, between two snowy Mountains, being two Leagues up to the Top, where the Enemy might have distress'd them by reason of the Narrowness of the Way, and the Violence of the Cold, which was such, that the
Men

Men could scarce speak, or carry their Arms. From thence they discover'd the Lands of *Mexico*, and the Lake, with the Towns about it, which was one of the finest Prospects in the World, there being about thirty beautiful Cities; and the Country delightful. Some *Spaniards* said, that was their Land of Promise, and that the more Enemies the more Profit. Others who consider'd more seriously, were sensible of the great Danger they were running themselves into, and said, It was tempting God for so small a Number to venture among such a Multitude of People, without knowing how they should get off again. This occasion'd a private Mutiny, or Commotion; but *Cortes* soon quell'd it by his Resolution, and Conduct, encouraging some, putting some in Hopes of great Wealth, and proposing Honour to others. They lay one Night on the Top of the Pass, where *Martin Lopez*, standing Sentinel in the dark, discovering a Bulk, press'd his Cross-Bow, and was just going to let fly, when *Cortes* spoke, and said, Ho the Watch, and had he not spake the Sentinel had kill'd him. This was a Warning to him not to come so near the Sentinels for the future, and he look'd upon this as one of his fortunate Adventures. A great Outcry was heard, and the Guard kill'd fifteen *Mexicans*, whom they suppos'd to be Spies. The next Day they found many Trees laid across the Way down the Pass, and a great Ditch, where many Men might have lain in Ambush.

BEING come down into the Plain, the *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in a Country House, that had many Apartments, and was surrounded with abundance of Greens. The *Indians* soon made a great Number of Barracks, where they lay, being about six thousand *Tlascallans*, *Zempoalans*, *Gnecoxingans*, and *Chalullans*, who by Way of Distinction from the rest, wore on their Heads Garlands of a Sort of Fern, and they had
a good

a good Supper, and *Moteczuma's* Subjects carry'd them Women, as was their Custom. To this Place came a Lord, that was related to *Moteczuma*, attended by many Gentlemen, to visit *Cortes*, and presented him to the Value of about three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold. He desir'd him to turn back, because there was no Way to go into *Mexico*, but in little Boats, and that by the Way he would find much Trouble, Want of Provisions, and Sicknes, by reason of the Dampness, and ill Climate of the Country, assuring, that *Moteczuma* would deliver to him at the Sea Side the Tribute he should require for his King, and much Wealth for himself, to go back well satisfy'd into his own Country. *Cortes* did that Nobleman much Honour, giving him and all his Retinue several *Spanish* Rarities, and answering, That his going to *Mexico* could not be any Way offensive to *Moteczuma*, since he design'd nothing but to serve him, kiss his Hands, and return; which he pray'd him not to take in ill Part, because it was what his Sovereign Master the King had commanded, and as he had an Embassy to deliver from the great King of *Spain*, he was oblig'd to hear it, and be his Friend, since he sent so far to compliment him; that the Water of their Lake was nothing in Comparison of the Sea they had cross'd, and as for Hunger, his Companions had been so much enur'd to it during that long Voyage, that they made no Account of it.





C H A P. II.

Cortes marches on towards Mexico, arrives at Tezcuco, and Yztacpalapa; Motezuma comes out in Person to meet him; the Manner of the Reception; and the Discourse that pass'd between them then, and at a Visit.



MOTEZUMA was immediately inform'd of all that has been said, by some of his People, tho' most of them stay'd among the *Spaniards*, and for as much as it was suspected that they were privately arm'd, to fall upon them by Surprize, *Cortes* bid the *Mexican* Lords not to stir in the Quarters of the *Spaniards* at Night, because they never slept or laid aside their Weapons, and were wont to kill all that came among them. Notwithstanding all this Precaution some Spies were employ'd out of the Way, to find whether that were so, and the Sentinels kill'd three or four of them, being forewarn'd, which prov'd so advantageous, that the *Mexicans* afterwards took up their Quarters very far from the *Spaniards*. They were now in the Province of *Culua*, which is rather cold than hot, full of Gardens, and Groves, the Waters very sweet, and abundance of Hart Cherry-Trees, the Fruit that was found most like to any in *Spain*.

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THE next Day they march'd to a Town two Leagues from the Country House where they had lain, call'd *Amacameca*, in the Province of *Chalco*. The Lord came out to meet *Cortes*, with a great Retinue; gave him forty Women Slaves, the value of three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Provisions for two Days, and privately told him in what tyrannical Manner *Moteczuma* treated him, and all others. He comforted, encourag'd, and gave him some Toys, so that they parted very great Friends. The Army advanc'd from thence to a small Town, half the Houses whereof are within the Lake, and the other half at the Foot of an uncouth stony Mountain. Many of the King's Servants kept along with the Army, supplying it with all Necessaries, and that Night they design'd to have murder'd all the *Spaniards*; but *Cortes* was so watchful, that his Sentinels, and a small extraordinary *Corps de Garde* he had appointed, kill'd twenty Men that were to view the Quarters. The next Morning before they set out, abundance of People came from *Mexico*, and many Gentlemen, attending on *Cacamazin*, Nephew to *Moteczuma*, Lord of *Texcoco*, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, who was richly clad, and carry'd on a Sort of Bier on Men's Shoulders, and when he alighted some went before, sweeping the Way he was to go. *Cortes* came out of his Tent to meet him, paying him much Respect, and treating the others very courteously, Twelve Noblemen went with him into the Tent, and *Cacamazin* with much State and Gravity, said, That he and those Gentlemen were come to wait on him, adding to excuse his Uncle, that he came not in Person because he was indispos'd. *Cortes* answer'd him fully, and yet *Cacamazin* insisted, that it was not fit for him to go to *Mexico*, because he suspected that there might be some Difficulty in his Admittance, or that

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it would be oppos'd. *Cortes* gave him a considerable Present of such Things as he had, treating him in a very courteous and loving Manner, but held on his Way, and it was wonderful to see what a Multitude of People came out from *Mexico*, and the other Towns on the Lake, to see the *Spaniards*, admiring their Habit, Beards, Arms, Horses, and the Strangeness that appear'd in every Particular, saying, *These are truly Gods*. *Cortes* warn'd them not to cross the Soldier's Ranks, not to come near the Horses, nor to touch their Garments, which would immediately cost them their Lives; lest growing familiar with his Soldiers they should fear them the less. They came to *Tezcuco*, which was twice as big as *Sevil*, the Streets very regular, the Houses beautiful, and is seated in a Plain, on the salt Lake, and has fresh Water in Pipes brought from the Mountain to every House, which makes it a very agreeable Habitation. From thence they proceeded to *Quistlavaca*, which they call'd *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*, containing about two thousand Houses, all in the Water, pleasant, and plentifully supply'd with Fish. They enter'd it along a Causeway above twenty Foot broad, and above half a League in Length, with good Houses and Towers, and the Lord of the Place came out to meet *Cortes*, furnish'd the Forces with Necessaries, and at his Request they stay'd there that Night. He discours'd *Cortes* in private, declaring how much he wish'd to be discharg'd from his Subjection to *Moteczuma*, made grievous Complaints against him, adding, that if he and his were Gods, as they seem'd to be, he ought to set many great Men at Liberty, who would all be assisting to him. He comforted, and assur'd him, that the great Monarch *Moteczuma* would do whatsoever he should ask of him. As for the Way to *Mexico* that Lord assur'd him it was all good, being
along

along a Causeway much broader than that which had led him thither.

HAVING receiv'd this Account, *Cortes* set out better satisfy'd, having before resolv'd to make Boats to enter into *Mexico*, and nevertheless he was afraid lest they should break down the Causeways. He march'd upon his Guard, sending some Horsemen before, to see how Matters stood, and considering the immense Multitude of People that appear'd, some still continu'd to put him in Mind of the Instability of Fortune in martial Affairs, but he always appear'd undaunted, and encourag'd the Men, promising them great Advantages. At the Request of *Cacamazin*, he went two Leagues farther to *Tzacpalapa*, a Town belonging to another of *Moteczuma's* Nephews, who came out to meet him, with the Lord of *Cuyoacan*, another Prince of the Royal Family. With them came an infinite Multitude of People, besides those that were on the Causeway. They presented him with Women Slaves, Plumes of Feathers, Garments, and to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold. The Lord of *Tzacpalapa* made a Speech, bidding *Cortes* welcome in the King's Name. *Cortes* answer'd very discreetly, and presented them some Toys, which were more acceptable for the Rarity than the Value. At *Tzacpalapa* he was well entertain'd, in a House that had large Courts, upper and lower Floors, and very delightful Gardens. The Walls were of Stone, the Timber Work well wrought, there were many and spacious Rooms, hung with Cotton Hangings extraordinary rich in their Way. On one Side of it was an Orchard, with abundance of Fruit and Greens; the Walks were all enclos'd with Reeds interwoven, cover'd with odoriferous Roses and Flowers. There were Ponds of fresh Water with much Fish in them; one of them was four hundred Acres square, that is one thousand six hundred about, with

with Steps to go down to the Water, and to the Bottom. Such Numbers of small Herons, wild Ducks, Gulls, and other Sorts of Fowls resorted to the Lakes, that they were sometimes cover'd. This City contain'd ten thousand Houses, the one half of them in the Salt Lake, and the other on the Continent. On the Way from it to *Mexico* is a Spring of good Water, encompass'd with tall Trees. *Cortes* attentively observ'd all these Particulars, and consider'd the Grandeur of *Mexico*, and he is reported to have rejoyc'd very much, and to have bid some of his best Friends to cheer up, for they should soon receive the Reward of all their Labours.

Moteczuma desir'd nothing more than to obstruct *Cortes's* coming to *Mexico*, and to that Purpose made use of all the Arts that have been mention'd; and when he was at *Iztacpalapa*, he sent some Gentlemen as from themselves artfully to advise him to go back, representing to him many Dangers, and offering to give him whatsoever he should demand. *Teuch*, the Nobleman of *Zempoala*, being inform'd of what they had said, told *Cortes* he should not give Credit to those Difficulties and Dangers they talk'd of, for he had been himself in *Mexico*, and offer'd to conduct him to the King's Palace along a very fine Causeway. *Cortes* then advancing, order'd an *Indian* to go before, and make Proclamation as he went, in the *Mexican* Language, that no Man should offer to cross the Way, for if any did, they should be immediately kill'd upon the Spot; which prov'd of great Use, that his Men might have Room to march, notwithstanding the Crowd of the People. *Iztacpalapa* is two Leagues from *Mexico*, all along a Causeway, so broad that eight Horsemen can easily go a-breast, and it is so strait, that were it not for one Angle it forms, the Gates of *Mexico* might be seen at the first setting out. On the Sides of it are

Mexicaltzingo,

Mexicalizingo, a Town of four thousand Houses, seated in the Water; *Cuyoacan* of six thousand Houses on the Land Side, very beautiful, healthy, and pleasant, and *Hincilopucheo* of five thousand Houses. In these three Towns, during their continuing Pagans, there were many Temples, and high Towers, all over plaster'd with white Lime, which when the Sun shin'd upon them, at a Distance look'd like Silver, being a great Ornament to those Places, and now they are Monasteries. There was in them a great Trade of Salt, but not white, nor agreeable to eat, especially to the Spaniards, yet good for salting of Meat. It is made of the Surface of the Earth that is near the Lake, and full of Saltpetre, the Lumps of it are round, almost of a Brick Colour, and they yielded *Moteczuma* a very great Revenue, the Trade of it still continues, being carry'd very far. On the Causeway there were Drawbridges, at certain Distances over the Openings, through which the Water runs out of the one Lake into the other. The fresh Water Lake is higher than the Salt, and tho' it runs into the other, they do not mix much, by reason of the Causeways that part them.

Cortes had three hundred Spaniards, tho' *Gomara* says they were four hundred, and when they march'd out of *Tlascala*, their Number seem'd so small to him, that fancying some stay'd behind, he sent *Peter de Alvarado* to fetch them out, and he found none. The Indian Confederates that follow'd him were six thousand, for some *Tlascallans*, *Chulullans*, and others, had join'd him at *Chulula*. Being come near to *Mexico*, where another Causeway joyns the former, he there found a Stone Bulwark, two Fathoms high, with two Towers at the Ends, and between them a Breastwork with Battlements, and two Gates. There *Cortes* halted, because four thousand Gentlemen of the Court, richly clad all in the same Livery, came out to meet him. Every one

one of them, when he came to the Place where *Cortes* was, made his Obeysance, touching the Ground with his Right Hand, and kissing it, and passing along, return'd to the Place from whence he came. This took up a full Hour, and was a goodly Sight; and in that very Place, *Cortes* afterwards fix'd his Attack, when he besieg'd *Mexico*. The Causeway runs on from the Bulwark, and at the End of the Street it goes towards a wooden Draw-Bridge, ten Paces wide, under which the Water ran, it is now of Stone, and near the House that *Peter de Alvarado* built. To this Bridge the King himself advanc'd to meet *Cortes*, under a Canopy of green Feathers and Gold, with many curious Works hanging about it, carry'd on the Heads of four Lords. Before him walk'd three Lords, one after another, each of them holding a Gold Rod upright, in the Nature of Scepters; which were carry'd before *Moteczuma* every Time he went abroad, either by Land or Water, like a Standard, or Token that the great Lord was there, to the End that all who were in the Way, tho' they did not see him, might pay the due Respect. Two principal Lords, being his Brother *Quetahuac*, and his Nephew *Cacamacin* led him by the Arms. They were all richly clad, and after the same Manner, baring that the King had Golden Shoes, which they call *Zagles*, being like those of the ancient *Romans*, and on them many precious Stones of great Value, the Soles fastned with Thongs. The two Lords that led him were barefoot, for the Respect they paid him was so great, that no Man durst come into his Presence without taking off his Shoes, or might they lift up their Eyes. Several of his Servants went before, two and two, spreading Cloths on the Ground that he might not tread on it. At a small Distance behind him two hundred great Men walk'd in Procession, all of them barefoot, and in a richer Livery than the three thou-

land that went before him. *Moteczuma* kept along the Middle of the Street, and the two hundred that follow'd him as close to the Walls as they could, their Eyes fix'd on the Ground, because it was accounted as a Disrespect to look on his Face. As soon as *Cortes* saw him, he alighted from his Horse at a small Distance, with some Gentlemen, and drawing near made his Obedience, after the Manner of *Spain*. Those that led *Moteczuma* stopp'd *Cortes*, thinking it a grievous Sin that any Man should touch him, he being held as some Deity. They saluted one another after their Manner, *Moteczuma* touching the Ground with his Hand, and kissing it, a Ceremony us'd among the *Indians*, and then bid him welcome. *Cortes* return'd Thanks for having come out to meet him, and put about his Neck a Collar of glass Diamonds, and other precious Stones, with some Enamel. *Moteczuma* bow'd a little, in token of accepting the Present. He went on a little before, with the Nephew that led him by the Arm, and order'd the other to stay and wait upon *Cortes*, leading him by the Hand along the Middle of the Street, not permitting any *Spaniard* or *Indian* to come near. This was the greatest Honour *Moteczuma*, being so great a Prince could do *Cortes*. The two hundred Gentlemen in one Livery, that went behind, as soon as they turn'd about came one by one to welcome him, and the Day would have been too short if all the Nobility in the City were to have done the like; but the King going before, they all turn'd their Faces to the Wall in Token of Respect, so that the others who were behind could not come up. The King was much pleas'd with the Collar *Cortes* gave him, because tho' not costly, it was gay, lightly, and very strange to him, and that he might not be thought to fall short in any thing that became a great Prince, he call'd two Officers of his Bedchamber, and bid them

bring two Collars of large red Prawns, as big as great Snails, or Walnuts, which they put a great Value upon, at every one of which hung eight Gold Prawns, wrought exactly to the Life, and about half a Foot long. When brought, the King stopp'd till Cortes came up, and with his own Hands threw them upon his Neck. The *Indians* were amaz'd that *Moteczuma* should do Cortes so singular a Favour, for he had never done the like to any other Man, and thus he gain'd Reputation among them.

THE Street they went through was about a Mile in Length, wide, strait, and very beautiful, with Houses on both Sides. *Mexico*, as shall more particularly be taken Notice of in its Place, has the best Streets and Houses on the one Side, of any Place that is known in the World. The Doors, Windows, and Terrasses of those long Streets were throng'd with such a Multitude of People as was to be admir'd, and they wonder'd at the Strangeness of our Men, their Beards, Faces, Habits, Horses, Arms, and Guns, and said, Certainly these are Gods, that come from those Parts where the Sun rises. The old Men, who were most knowing in their Antiquities, and the Memorials of their Gentility, sighing said, These doubtless are the Men that will Lord it over us, and our Country, since being so few in Number, they have vanquish'd so many Nations. The *Spaniards* were astonish'd to see such a Multitude of People as they had never imagin'd. They came to a very large Court, which was the Wardrobe of the Idols, and had been the House of *Axayacatzin*, *Moteczuma's* Father. At the Door of it the King took Cortes by the Hand, led him into a spacious Room, plac'd him on a rich elevated Place, adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, and said to him, "You are in
" your own House, eat, rest, and take your Pleasure,
" for I will soon return." Cortes made him profound

Obedience,

Obeysance, without answering one Word. This was the Reception that mighty Prince made *Cortes*, in that vast City of *Mexico*, on the 8th of *November* 1519; he being lodg'd in so large a House, that tho' it seems incredible, contain'd so many spacious Rooms, with Bed-chambers, that one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* could all lie single. It was also worth observing, that though the House was so big, every Part of it to the least Corner was very clean, neat, matted and hung with Hangings of Cotton and Feather Work of several Colours, and had Beds of Mats with Pavillions over them, no Man of what Quality soever having any other sort of Bed, no others being us'd. There was Fire with Perfumes in every Chamber, and so many Men Servants every where as sufficiently discover'd the Grandeur of that Prince. When *Moteczuma* was gone, *Cortes* assign'd every one his Apartment, placing the Artillery before the Door; and when he had order'd all that was requisite, the prime Men serving him in such Quality as is usual in the Houses of the greatest Persons, the rest in Honour to him, and because it was then convenient, stood in Order about the Walls. In short, when they had all din'd and rested, *Moteczuma* return'd, *Cortes* went out to meet him, they both walk'd together to the rais'd Part of the Room, and when they were seated in the Presence of many *Mexican* Gentlemen, and *Cortes's* chief Commanders, *Moteczuma* gave *Cortes* many costly Jewels of Gold, Silver, Feather Work, and six thousand rich Cotton Garments. *Cortes* return'd Thanks for that noble Present, wherein he show'd his good Breeding and Discretion, and then *Moteczuma* turning to him by means of the two Interpreters *Aguilar* and *Marina*, spoke as follows.

U u 1

“ Noble

“ Noble Valourous Commander, and you Gentle-
 “ men that are come with him, I call to Witness the
 “ Gentlemen and Servants of my Houshold, that it
 “ is a great Satisfaction to me to have such Guests,
 “ that I may entertain you as you deserve; and if I
 “ hitherto desir’d you not to come to *Mexico*, it was
 “ on Account of the great Dread my People had con-
 “ ceiv’d of yours; for besides that every one of them
 “ can vanquish many of ours, you frighted them
 “ with the Strangeness of your Habit, and Persons,
 “ and of those Creatures you have bigger than Stags,
 “ and because you made the Earth quake with the
 “ Thunder and Lightning of Heaven; as also be-
 “ cause they said you made such dreadful Wounds
 “ with your Swords, that you could cut Men off in
 “ the Middle. It was likewise reported, that you
 “ were very fond of what was not your own, and al-
 “ together intent upon commanding; that you were
 “ very greedy of Gold and Silver; and that every
 “ one of you did eat as much as ten of ours, besides
 “ many other Things that made us very inclinable not
 “ to permit you to enter these Kingdoms; but being
 “ now satisfy’d by the Conversation my Men have had
 “ with yours, that you are mortal Men like us, tho’
 “ much braver, and good natur’d, Friends to your
 “ Friends, enur’d to Labour, and that you have done
 “ no Harm without much Provocation, defending
 “ your own Persons, and protecting those that came
 “ to you in Distress; I have seen the Horses, which
 “ are like great Stags, and the Guns that resemble
 “ Trunks, and therefore I look upon what was said of
 “ you at first as a Jest, tho’ the *Tlascallans* your Friends
 “ at first were of the same Opinion as I, and being
 “ now undeceiv’d, I do not only account you my
 “ great Friends, but very near Relations; for my Fa-
 “ ther told me he heard his Father say, that our Ance-
 “

“ stors,

" stors, and the Kings from whom I descend were not
 " Natives of this Country, but Strangers, who co-
 " ming with a great Lord, that soon after return'd to
 " his own Country, being most powerful, made them-
 " selves Masters of this Kingdom, which belong'd to
 " the *Otomies* ; and many Years after, that Lord came
 " again for them, but they would not return home,
 " because they were marry'd here, and had Children,
 " and Authority. That Lord went away much dis-
 " pleas'd with them, and told them at parting, that
 " he would send his Descendents to govern and keep
 " them in Peace, and in the Laws and Religion of their
 " Forefathers, and that if they would not accept of
 " it freely, they should be compell'd to it by Force.
 " For this reason we have always believ'd that the
 " People from those Parts would come to subdue, and
 " command us, and I am of Opinion you are they,
 " because of the Parts you come from, and the Know-
 " ledge that great King who sends you has of us.
 " Therefore, worthy Commander, be assur'd that we
 " will obey you, if you do not impose on us, and
 " will Share what we have with you ; and tho' what
 " I have said were not so certain, you deserve all good
 " Usage on Account of your Virtue, and if you fan-
 " cy that I am a God, and that, as some falsely ima-
 " gine I turn myself when I please into a Lyon, a
 " Tyger, or a Serpent, that is a meer Fiction, for I
 " am a mortal Man like others ;" And so saying he
 " pinch'd his hand, and proceeded, " Touch my Body,
 " for it is Flesh and Bone, tho' as a King I am above
 " others, on Account of the Dignity and Prehemi-
 " nence in which the God's have plac'd me. The
 " *Tlascallans*, *Zempoalans* and *Guaxocingans* have per-
 " haps also said, that the Tops and Walls of my Houses
 " are of Gold ; some of them having rebell'd upon your
 " coming, but I shall soon humble their Pride. The
 " Houses

" Houses you see are of Timber, and Clay, and some
 " of the better Sort of Stone; as for the rest, it is
 " true I have Wealth, and Treasures, which I have
 " inherited from my Parents, and Predecessors, and
 " have been preserv'd for many Ages down to this
 " Time; and in them there is a great quantity of Gold,
 " Silver, Pearls, precious Stones, extraordinary costly
 " Jewels, Feathers and Arms, as is usual for Kings to
 " have, who are of ancient Descent, all which you
 " and your Companions shall have and enjoy, when-
 " soever you please, for I have kept it for you." When
 he utter'd these Words his Heart relented so much
 that he could not forbear letting fall Tears, and conclu-
 ding his Speech, said, " In the mean Time take your
 " Ease, for you must needs be weary."

Cortes making a low Obedience, with a cheerful
 Countenance answer'd as follows. " Most potent Prince,
 " be assur'd that my coming hither has been to know,
 " and to salute you in the Name of the great King of
 " *Castile and Leon*, my Sovereign, who is well inform'd
 " of your Grandeur; and the farther he is remov'd at
 " a Distance from you, the more he covets your Friend-
 " ship, and has sent me more particularly to discourse
 " you about Matters of Religion, because he looks up-
 " on you and yours to be much in the wrong, and
 " therefore desires that you and they may be deliver'd
 " from that Blindness in which the Devil holds you.
 " I will also impart to you many Things that will be
 " conducing to the good Government of your King-
 " dom, because wanting Letters you have not been able
 " to attain to the Knowledge of those Sciences which
 " the Ancients handed to us; in which are couch'd
 " the Laws and Precepts for living virtuously, and fix-
 " ing a Principle to know what is expedient for the
 " Salvation of Souls, which are immortal, and being
 " of Necessity separated from their Bodies by Death,

" are

" are to go give a strict Account of the Good, or Evil
 " they have done to one only God, the true Judge,
 " who will bestow eternal Rest on those who have led
 " good Lives, and everlasting Torments on such as
 " have done ill. Thus, if you will give ear to, and
 " well understand what I shall say to you hereafter,
 " you will look upon our coming as a Happiness, and
 " be much oblig'd to the King of *Spain* for having sent
 " me to you; and in reality had I not confided very
 " much on your good Disposition, I should not have
 " been so positive in my Resolution to see and salute
 " you; and I am undeceiv'd as to what had been said
 " to me concerning you, for I see the contrary with
 " my own Eyes, and that you are a Man like us, meek,
 " peaceable, courteous, a Lover of Justice, generous,
 " and a Prince in all Points, as has appear'd by your
 " Actions, so perfect and accomplish'd, that our great
 " God will not permit you to dye in the Error and Ig-
 " norance in which the Devil holds you; and I am
 " well assur'd, that the great Lord you expect is the
 " King, my Sovereign, of the Race, and Country of
 " your Predecessors, and therefore receive, love and
 " embrace us, as belonging to him, for we come only
 " to serve, instruct, and give you all Pleasure and Satis-
 " faction. Set your Heart at rest, and do not imagine
 " there is any more in it than what we tell you. As
 " to the Offer you make me of your Treasures, I kiss
 " your Hands for that great Generosity, and you may
 " rest satisfy'd that our Persons can do you more Ser-
 " vice than all that Wealth." *Moteczuma* who had
 " been very attentive, laying aside all Jealousy, embrac'd
 " *Cortes*, offering himself and his House over again, and
 " ask'd, whether those with the Beards were all his Sub-
 " jects, or his Slaves, that he might treat every one as
 " was proper. *Cortes* told him, that most of them were
 " his Brothers, Friends, and Companions; but that a-
 " mong

among them some were of a higher Degree than others, *Moteczuma* went away, and enquir'd of the Interpreters, which were the principal Persons, and then sent every one a Present suitable to his Quality, the same being carry'd by Persons of proportionable Rank to those they went to.



C H A P. III.

How Moteczuma was serv'd at Meals; how he gave Audience; his Diversions; his Women and Houses; the Game of Ball; the great Dance; the Grandeur of his Palace, and other Particulars.



MOTECZUMA did always eat alone, and so great a Quantity of Meat was serv'd up to his Table, such great Variety, and so differently dress'd, that there was sufficient for all the prime Men of his Household. His Table was a Cushion, or two Pieces of colour'd Leather; instead of a Chair, a little low Stool, made of one Piece, the Seat hollow'd out, carv'd and painted in the best manner that could be; the Table-cloth, Napkins, and Towels of very fine Cotton, as white as Snow, and never serv'd any more than once, being the Fees of the proper Officers. The Meat was brought up by four hundred Pages, all Gentlemen, Sons of Lords, and set down all together in a Hall; the King went thither, and with a

Rod,

Rod, or his Hand pointed to what he lik'd, and then the Sewer set it upon Chafingdishes, that it might not be cold; and this he never fail'd to do unless the Stewards at any Time very much recommended to him some particular Dishes. Before he sat down, twenty of the most beautiful Women came and brought him Water to wash his Hands, and when seated the Sewer did shut a wooded Rail, that divided the Room, lest the Nobility that went to see him Dine should encumber the Table, and he alone set on and took off the Dishes, for the Pages neither came near, nor spoke a Word. Strict silence was observ'd, none daring to speak, unless it were some Jester, or the Person of whom he ask'd any Question. The Sewer was always upon his Knees, and barefoot attending him, without lifting up his Eyes. No Man with Shoes on was to come into the Room, upon Pain of Death. The Sewer also gave him Drink, in a Cup of several Shapes, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Silver, sometimes of Gourd, and sometimes of the Shells of Fishes. Six ancient Lords attended at a Distance, to whom he gave some Dishes of what he lik'd best, which they did eat there with much Respect. He had always Musick of Flutes, Reeds, Horns, Shells, Kettle-drums, and other Instruments, nothing agreeable to the Ears of the *Spaniards*, nor was their Vocal Musick any better, till they learnt it of the *Spaniards*. There were always at Dinner Dwarfs, crooked and other deformed Persons to provoke Laughter, and they did Eat of what was left at the farther End of the Hall, with the Jestors and Buffoons. What remain'd was given to three thousand *Indians* that were constantly upon Guard in the Courts, and Square, and therefore there were always three thousand Dishes of Meat, and many Cups of Liquor. The Larder, and Cellar were never shut, by reason of their continual carrying

in and out. In the Kitchen they dress'd all Sorts of Meat that were sold in the Market, being a prodigious Quantity, besides what was brought by Hunters, Tenants, and Tributaries. The Dishes and all Utensils were of good Earthen Ware, and serv'd the King but once. He had Abundance of Vessels of Gold and Silver, yet made no Use of them, because they should not serve twice, which was look'd upon as mean, but all or part of them were carry'd to the Feasts, and Sacrifices of their Gods. Sometimes, tho' seldom, he did eat human Flesh, and it was to be of that which had been sacrific'd, and extraordinary well dress'd. When the Cloth was taken away, the Women, who had stood all the Dinner Time, came to give him Water for his Hands, and then all went away except those that were in waiting.

When the Company was gone, some one of the six Lords stay'd to talk with the King, and if the Season were fit for it, he took a Nap, leaning against the Wall, on the same Stool on which he had din'd. After that he gave Audience, with much Affability and Gravity, calling in the Secretaries for that Purpose, by whose Mouths he answer'd, and order'd what was to be done. Those who had any Business came in, leaving their Shoes at the Palace Gate, or else carry'd them at their Girdle, under their Mantle. At that Time the great Lords, unless they were of the Blood Royal, wore coarse Mantles over their rich ones, alledging, that it was disrespectful to appear so fine before their Sovereign. All that were to speak to him perform'd the same Manner of Obedience, for they bow'd three or four Times before they came up to him, did not look in his Face, spoke with their Heads hanging down, and so low, that none but the Secretaries could hear them. He listned with much Attention, and if any one hapned to have so much Awe upon him that he could not well
express

express what he had to say, he would bid him compose himself, and tell a Secretary his Business. He answer'd all Men with a pleasant Countenance, very leasurely, and in few Words. Those who had been heard went away without turning their Backs to him. When the Audience was over, many Lords, and other Courtiers came in, and he delighted to hear them sing the great Actions of his Forefathers to the Musick of certain round Instruments that had a very great Sound. He was pleas'd to hear Jesters talk, because they diverted the Care of Business, and said, they were wont under Jest to tell such truths as wise Men durst not utter, and therefore he rewarded them very well. Sometimes he took Pleasure to see Men that play'd Tricks with their Feet, as Juglers do with their Hands in *Spain*, for they lying along on their Backs, will toss a Pole three Yards long with their Feet, so many several ways, casting and catching it so quick, that it can scarce be seen. Others setting the same Pole upright on the Ground, leap up and set both their Feet on the Top of it, and then a second taking hold of the lower part of the Pole lifts it up with the other upon it, and moves about playing a thousand mimick Tricks. There were some such active Vaulters, that the Pole being laid on the Shoulders of two Men, they play'd such wonderful Pranks on it, that it seem'd impracticable without the Help of the Devil, and yet there was nothing of it but bare Custom and Practice. He delighted in a Sort of Posture-Masters, for three Men would stand upright one upon anothers Shoulders, and the uppermost perform'd Wonders, as if he had stood upon the Ground, the undermost at the same Time walking and dancing, and the middlemost performing other Motions. Sometimes he look'd at the Game of *Potoli*, which is something like our Tables, and is play'd at with Beans, and Lupins, that have

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Dots made on them like Dice, and the Game is call'd *Potoli*, because that is the Name of those Dice. They throw them with both Hands upon a fine Mat, which they call *Petate*, having Lines drawn on it like St. Andrew's Cross, and others across them, observing the Cast that fell above, laying down, or taking away little Stones of several Colours. This Game was in such Esteem among them, that many lost not only their Estates at it, but their Liberty also, for they play'd themselves away, when they had nothing else left.

The King took much Delight in seeing the Sport at Ball, which the *Spaniards* have since prohibited, because of the Mischief that often hapned at it; and was by them call'd *Tlachli*, being like our Tennis. The Ball was made of the Gum of a Tree that grows in hot Countries, which having Holes made in it distils great white Drops, that soon harden, and being work'd and moulded together turn as black as Pitch. The Balls made thereof tho' hard and heavy to the Hand, did bound and fly as well as our Footballs, there being no need to blow them, nor did they use Chaces but vy'd to drive the adverse Party, that is to hit the Wall the others were to make good, or to strike it over. They struck it with any Part of their Body, as it hapned, or they could most conveniently; and sometimes he lost that touch'd it with any other Part but his Buttock, or Hip, which was look'd upon among them as the greatest Dexterity; and to this Effect, that the Ball might rebound the better, they fastned a Piece of stiff Leather on their Buttocks. They might strike it every time it rebounded, which it would do several times one after another, in so much that it look'd as if it had been alive. They play'd in Parties, so many on a Side, for a Load of Mantles, or what the Gamesters could afford, at so many Scores. They also play'd for Gold, and Featherwork, and sometimes play'd themselves

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selves away, as has been said before. The Place where they play'd was a ground Room, long, narrow and high, but wider above than below, and higher on the Sides than at the Ends, and they kept it very well plaister'd and smooth, both the Walls and Floor. On the Side Walls they fix'd certain Stones like those of a Mill, with a Hole quite through the Middle, just as big as the Ball, and he that could strike it through there won the Game, and in Token of its being an extraordinary Success, which rarely hapned, he had thereby a Right to the Cloaks of all the Lookers on, by antient Custom, and Law amongst Gamesters; and it was very pleasant to see, that as soon as ever the Ball was in the Hole, the Standers-by took to their Heels, running away with all their Might to save their Cloaks, laughing and rejoycing, others scouring after them to secure their Cloaks for the Winner; who was oblig'd to offer some Sacrifice to the Idol of the Tennis-court, and the Stone through whose Hole the Ball had pass'd. The Spectators seeing the Ball so drove through the Hole, which they look'd upon as miraculous, tho' it was only accidental, were wont to affirm, that the Man who did it was certainly a Thief, or an Adulterer, or would dye very soon, since he was so fortunate, and this Success was talk'd of for a long time, till the like hapning again it was forgot. Every Tennis-court was a Temple, having two Idols, the one of Gaming, and the other of the Ball. On a lucky Day, at Midnight, they perform'd certain Ceremonies, and Enchantments on the two lower Walls, and on the Midst of the Floor, singing certain Songs, or Ballads; after which a Priest of the great Temple went with some of their Religious Men to bless it; he utter'd some Words, threw the Ball about the Tennis-court four Times, and then it was consecrated, and might be play'd in, but not before. This was done with much Gravity

ty and Attention, for they said the Quiet and Satisfaction of their Hearts depended on it. The Owner of the Tennis-court, who was always a Lord, never play'd without making some Offering to and performing certain Ceremonies to the Idol of Gaming, which shows how superstitious they were, since they had such Regard to their Idols, even in their Diversions. *Moteczuma* carry'd the *Spaniards* to this Sport, and was well pleas'd to see them play at it, as also at Cards and Dice.

There is no Nation in the Universe but what delights in some Sort of Musick, and Dancing; and tho' the People of *New-Spain* are more flegmatick and melancholly than any other Nation whatsoever, nevertheless they have much Variety of Instrumental Musick, not very agreeable to our Ears, as I have before observ'd, but at present, among other Things they have learnt of our People, they play very well upon the Flute, the Waits, the Sackbut, the Trumpet, and other Instruments of our Sort, to the Organ Notes, singular Care having been taken to put them from their barbarous Customs. *Moteczuma* being so great a Prince, and all his Subjects honouring him somewhat more than what was fit for a Man, they endeavour'd to please him as much as was possible, and knowing that he delighted most in Musick, as is usual among great Men, they came to his Palace to entertain him, in a great Court there was before the Lodgings, and he was so taken with it, that he often sent for those Musicians. The *Indian* way of dancing differ'd very much from that of all other Nations, and was thus, After Dinner they began a Dance that is very pleasant and delightful, and by them call'd *Netotiliztle*. Before Dinner they laid down a large Mat, and plac'd on it two Kettle-drums, one of them small, call'd *Teponaztle*, which is made of one Piece of Wood, very well wrought, hollow, and with-

out

out any Leather, or Parchment on the outside, having a Notch or Cranny on the Top. They beat it with small Sticks, as we do our Kettle-drums, but the Ends of them are not of Wood, but of Wooll, or some other puffy Matter. The other Kettle-drum, is large, as high as a Man's Waste, round, hollow, carv'd and painted on the outside, the Top of it cover'd with a large Piece of Deer's Skin, dress'd, and well stretch'd, which being strain'd raises, and when looser lowers the Tone, and it is beaten with the Hands, but is troublesome. These two Instruments being run'd to the Voices of the Singers, have a great Sound, very disagreeable to our Ears. They were wont to the Musick of those Instruments to sing Ballads, containing the Victories and Feats of their former Kings; and when they were once in, they sang merry, pleasant, and comical Songs, all in Verse, with their proper Cadencies, tho' not so agreeable as ours. When it was dinner Time, eight or ten Men whistled very loud, bearing the Kettle-drums hard, as it were to warn those that were to dance after Dinner; then the Dancers came, who to entertain their great Sovereign were all to be Men of Quality, clad as richly as they could, with costly Mantles, white, red, green, yellow, and some of several Colours. They held in their Hands Nose-gays of Roses, or Fans made of Feathers, or of Gold and Feathers. Many of them by Way of Gallantry, or to look fierce, had their Heads thrust into Heads of Tygers, Lions, Alligators, or other wild Creatures; and on their right Arm, or Shoulders they wore some Badge of Gold, Silver, or Feathers. There assembled at this Dance, not only one thousand Men, as *Gomara* writes, but above eight thousand, for about that Number met at the proclaiming of King *Philip II.* marching in Order according to the Number of Men, four, six, eight, 10 more in a Rank. The prime Men kept nearest

nearest to the Kettle-drums, according to their several Degrees. They danc'd in a round sometimes holding Hands, and sometimes loosing them, one after another, moving their Hands or Feet at one and the same Time. Two of the most active, and best Dancers, lead the rest, who all do and say the same with them, keeping Time. The two foremost sung, and all the rest answer'd. The last among them take care to keep equal with the foremost, and this Dance usually holds four or five Hours. When they sing their Historical Ballads they do it slowly and gravely; but when they come to other merry Songs they do it faster, and in a more chearful Manner, dancing more sprightly. This dance lasting so long, some step out to drink or rest, without being mis'd, and fall in again still keeping Time. When they think fit sometimes they allow of Buffoons and Comical Fellows to dance out of the Ring, breaking Jest, imitating other Nations in their Habit and Language, acting Drunkards, Madmen, or old Women, to provoke the Spectators to Laughter. This Dance is better worth seeing, than that of the *Moors* called *la Zambra*, at *Granada*; and if it is done by Women is still more sightly and agreeable, but they seldom dance it, and that in private, for Modesty. It is reported, that the Women *Motexuma* kept, which were the most beautiful, and the noblest in his Dominions, to please him, were wont to dance after this Manner, either in his Gardens, or in the Hall, none but he, and some particular Favourite being admitted to see them.

Motexuma was so great in all respects, that every thing appertaining to his Service, or Diversion was Majestick, and suitable to his Dignity. He had many Houses, but because it would be tedious to speak of them all, I shall confine myself to that where he constantly resided, which in that Country Language

was call'd *Tepar*, signifying a Palace, or King's House. It had twenty Gates, all of them to the great Square, or Market Place, and the principal Streets; and three spacious Courts, and in one of them a very fine large Fountain, the Water whereof was convey'd under Ground to other Parts of the House. There were many Halls one hundred Feet in Length, and Rooms of twenty-five or thirty, and one hundred Baths. The Timber Work was small, without Nails, but very firm and strong, which the *Spaniards* much admir'd. The Walls were of Marble, Jasper, Porfiry, a black sort of Stone, with red Veins like Blood, white Stone, and another Sort that is transparent. The Roofs were of Wood well wrought and carv'd, as Cedar, Palm-Tree, Cypress, Pine, and other Sorts, with the Figures of some Creatures cut thereon, as if they had been furnish'd with such Tools as our Carvers are. The Rooms were painted, and matted, and many of them with rich Hangings of Cotton, of Coney-wooll, or of Feather Work. The Beds were not answerable to the Grandeur of the House, and Furniture, being poor and wretched, consisting of Blankets upon Mats, or on Hay, or only Mats, the finest laid on the coarsest, for at that Time the *Indians* knew little of Delicacy, or Politeness. Since then the better Sort have us'd wooden Bedsteads, with a Quilt to lye on, and a Blanket, which they reckon very Dainty. Few Men lay in this Palace; but there were one thousand Women in it, and some say three thousand, which is reckoned most likely, including Ladies, Servants, and Slaves. *Moteczuma* took to himself the Ladies, that were Daughters of great Men, being many in Number, and well kept, especially those he liked, and the rest he marry'd to his Servants, and other Persons of Quality. It is reported, that he sometimes had one hundred and fifty of them with Child at the same Time, who by the Inflation of

the Devil took Things to miscarry, that they might be in a Condition to please *Motexuma*, or because they knew their Children were not to inherit. There were abundance of old Women to watch over those young ones, who therefore never stirr'd from them, or permitted Men so much as to look at them; for *Motexuma* and his Ancestors took care to preserve Modesty in their Palace, and severely punish'd any Disrespect, or Lewdness, that was committed there, which was very rare. These Ladies had many Women to wait on them, were richly dress'd after their Manner, and wash'd very often, because *Motexuma* lov'd Cleanliness.

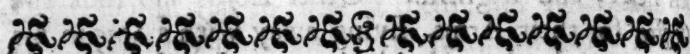
THE Arms over the Gates of the Palace, borne in *Motexuma's* Colours, and those of his Ancestors were an *Eagle* stooping to a *Tyger*, with the Talons ready to lay hold. Some will have it to be a *Griffon*, and not an *Eagle*, affirming that there are *Griffons* on the Mountains of *Taguacan*, and that they unpeopled the Vale of *Anacatlan*, devouring the Inhabitants. To confirm this Assertion, they say those Mountains are call'd *Cintlachcepeth*, from *Cintlachli*, signifying a *Griffon* like a *Lyon*. This is not very certain, there being nothing to prove it, but their bare Word, for hitherto the *Spaniards* never saw any *Griffon* in that Country, though the *Indians* show'd the Pictures of some among their Antiquities. They were represented to have Down, and no Feathers, and said to be so strong, that they could break the largest Bones of Men, and describe their Shape between a *Lyon* and an *Eagle*, with four Legs, Teeth, and Down, more like Wooll than a Feather, a Beak, Talons, and Wings to fly. In these Particulars their Pictures agree with our Descriptions, and Paintings, so that it is neither a Bird nor a Beast. *Pliny* and other natural Philosophers look upon what is said of the *Griffon* as a Fable, though many Tales, and Stories are told of them. Our People

never having seen any, some conclude and affirm, that ever since the Beginning of Idolatry among the *Indians* in *New Spain*, the Devil was wont to appear in that Shape, as he did in many others that were no less fierce, and frightful. Other Lords also took the *Griffon* for their Arms, flying away with a *Stag* in his Talons, and others plac'd him on other fierce Creatures, so strong and dreadful they look'd upon him to be.

Moteczuma had a very noble House near his Palace, containing many fine Rooms, with open Galleries about it, supported with costly Pillars of Jasper Stone, all of one Piece. There were other stately Galleries more brightly than those before spoken of, that look'd into a very large Orchard, in which there were ten or more Ponds, some of them of Salt Water, for the Sea Fowl, and others of fresh Water for the River, or Pool Birds; and they were often empty'd, and fill'd again, to keep the Feathers clean. There was such a Multitude of Birds, that the Ponds could not hold them, and so extraordinary was their Variety for Shape and Feathers, that our Men were amaz'd the first Time they saw them, and though they were of several Parts of *Spain*, they own'd they knew not very many of them. *Moteczuma* took such Care to have those Birds maintain'd, for the sake of their Feathers, that every sort was supply'd with the proper Food they liv'd upon abroad, as Herbs, Fish, other Birds, Grain of several Sorts, and some had Flies, and other Vermin to feed on. Above three hundred Persons were appointed to serve them, some of whom cleans'd the Ponds, others fill'd, others fed them, others pick'd them, others look'd to their Eggs, others did set them when broody, others cur'd them when sick, others pull'd their finest Feathers in hot Weather, which was the Motive of being at all that Charge and Trouble.

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They made of them rich Mantles, Carpets, Targets, Plumes, Fans, and several other Things, interwoven with Gold and Silver, all of them extraordinary curious, and strange Works.



CHAP. IV.

Of the House of Birds; of the Armoury; of the Gardens; of the King's Court, and Guard, and of the Taxes.



HERE was another House near that above spoken of, very large, and with fine Apartments, which was also call'd the Bird House, not because it contain'd more than the other, but for that they were larger, nobler, and of another Sort, being Birds of Prey, for Game, and they were look'd after by skillful Men, with the greatest Care imaginable. *Motexuma* went oftner to this House than to any of the others, to see the Birds, because they were more noble than the others, and was wont to ask many Questions of their Keepers, being very curious in that Sort of Knowledge, and he was in the right, for there are still more and better Birds than in any other Part of the World. In this House there were many upper Rooms, and in them Men, Women, and Children, all with white Eyes and Hair, as has been seen in *Spain*; and what is most to be admir'd, in a Town call'd *Pocol*, in *New-Galicia*, a Child was born, being the Son of a black Man and Woman, all of him as white as the very Snow, with his woolly Head, and the other Features

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like a Black, and yet was so extreamly white, that he could not see. They said, there were some so white in *Guinea*, that their Children were black like their Grand-fathers. It was very extraordinary to have any such born in *New-Spain*, because all the other Natives are of the Colour of boil'd Quinces. In another Apartment there were Dwarfs, crooked Persons, misshapen, and monstrous, a great Number whereof he kept for his Diversion; and it is reported, that some of them were purposely so deform'd in their Infancy, alledging, that it became a great Monarch to have such Things as were not to be found elsewhere. Every Sort of Dwarfs, or other Monsters, were kept apart, with People to look after them. In the lower Rooms, there were many strong Cages, or Pens, in some whereof there were Lyons, in others Tygers, in others Bears, in others Leopards, and in others Wolves. In short, there were all Sorts of four-footed Beasts, only that *Moteczuma* might be said to be so great, that he had all wild Beasts shut up in his House; and they were fed with Turkeys, Deer, Dogs, and other Creatures. What is still more strange, in other Rooms there were vast great Jars, Pans, and such like Vessels full of Water, or Earth, in which they fed and kept Snakes thicker than a Man's Thigh; very large Vipers; Alligators, Lizards, and Serpents of several Sorts, so fierce and venomous, that the very Sight was frightful to such as were not well us'd to them. They were fed after a strange Manner, for some were naturally so fierce, that tho' bred ever since they had been very small, they could never be tam'd. The Birds of Prey above-mention'd were in another Apartment, and about the Court, in strong Cages, upon Perches, being of all Sorts, as Hobbeyes, Sparrow-Hawks, Kites, Vultures, Goshawks, ten or twelve Sorts of Falcons, several Sorts of Eagles, and among them fifty much bigger

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bigger than the largest in *Spain*, each of which at one Meal would eat a Cock with a Crop, which are very large Birds. These Eagles were asunder, every one by itself; and all those Birds were every Day allow'd five hundred of the Cocks with the large Crops, having three hundred Men to attend them, besides a prodigious Number of those that follow'd the Game. Among these, were some Eagles so monstrous large, and having such prodigious Beaks and Talons, that it was frightful to behold them. Long after that Time, there was one at the *Tlaxelulco*, or Market of *Mexico*, said to have been left from the Time we are writing of, so monstrous big, that not only the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* also went to see it, as a prodigious Creature; for it would devour a Sheep at a Meal. There were many other Birds in that Apartment, which the *Spaniards* knew nothing of, but the *Indians* said they were all very fit for Game, and they appear'd to be so by their Shape, Beak, and Talons. They gave the Snakes the Blood of Persons sacrific'd, which they suck'd and lick'd, and some say, they had Part of the Flesh, which was also eaten by the Land and Water Alligators, and that was the Reason of their growing so vastly big. The *Spaniards* did not see it done, but found the Floor so thick with congealed Blood, that thrusting in a Stick it quak'd, and that Place stunk so horribly, that it was not to be endur'd. It was strange to see how the Men swarm'd about this House, looking to the Snakes, and other Creatures in it. The *Spaniards* were very well pleas'd to see such Variety of Birds, so many fierce wild Beasts, the Fury of the hideous Serpents, tho' they did not like to hear their Hissing, the horrid Roaring of the Lyons, the dismal Howling of the Wolves, the disagreeable Cries of the Leopards and Tygers, and the dreadful Noise of the other Creatures, which they made either through Hunger, or because they

they were not at Liberty to practise their savage Temper. When first the *Spaniards* heard that frightful Variety of Noises in the Night, they were frighted, till it grew familiar to them, and they affirm'd it was so hideous, that the House seem'd to be a Resemblance of Hell, and the Habitation of Devils, and it was no better, for in a great Room, or Hall, one hundred and fifty Foot long, and fifty in Breadth, there was, as the *Indians* asserted, a Chapel cover'd with thick Plates of Gold and Silver, and abundance of Pearls, Agates, Cornelians, Emeralds, Rubies, Topaces, and other precious Stones set in them, where *Moteczuma* was wont to pray many Nights, and the Devil appear'd, and spoke to him, giving Answers and Advice suitable to his Petition and Request. The first Conquerors said they did not see this Chapel, because *Morezuma* always went to the Temple to pray, and perhaps, as the *Indians* declar'd, he conceal'd it from the *Spaniards*, and would not show them all that Wealth, lest they should cover it; and they add, that when *Mexico* was taken, the Natives destroy'd that Place, and threw much Treasure into the Lake. There was also a peculiar House for the Grain, and to lay up the Feathers, and Cloth that was brought in as Tribute, and the same was well worth seeing. The Arms over the Gate was a Rabbit. In this House liv'd the Stewards, Treasurers, Controllers, Receivers, and all that had any Employments about the King's Revenue. None of these Houses belonging to the King were without Chapels, or Oratories to the Devil, whom they worshipp'd for the Sake of what was there, and accordingly they were all large, and had many People belonging to them, which shows how superstitious they were, and how many Ways the Devil endeavour'd to be honour'd and worshipp'd.

Moteczuma

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Motexuma valu'd himself so much upon surpassing all other Monarchs he had ever heard of, that he spar'd for nothing that was magnificent, to outdo what they could attain to, and since he had by Force of Arms, and the Multitude of his People subdu'd many Kingdoms and Provinces, he had appointed not only one, but several Houses to serve him as Armouries. The Device over the Gate was a Bow, and two Quivers, those being the Weapons most in Use among them. There was a very great Quantity of Arms in those Houses, as Bows, Arrows, Slings, Lances, Spears, Darts, Clubs, Swords of their Sort, Bucklers, and Targets rather gay than strong. Head-pieces, Greves, and Bracelets, not of Iron, but of Wood gilt, or cover'd with Leather, and not so many of them as of other Arms. The Wood they made those Arms of was very solid, hardned at the Fire, and at the End fix'd Flints, or the Bones of the Fish *Labica*, which is venomous, and therefore the Wounds it makes are the worse to heal, or else other Bones, which remaining in the Wound, render it almost incurable. The wooden Swords are edg'd with sharp Flints, well fix'd to them, by Means of a Sort of glutinous Substance of a Root they call *Cacote*, and with *Tenxale*, a Sort of hard Sand like that in the Diamond Veins, which they mix and mould together with the Blood of Swallows, and other Birds, and it clings and holds for ever, so that the heaviest Strokes do not separate them. They did cut every Thing that was soft, but if they met with what was hard they recoil'd, the Edge being very sharp and of Flint, of which they also made Piercers, to bore any Wood, or Stone, tho' it were a Diamond, with the Help of a certain Water they put into the Hole, like boring of Pearls. The Swords would cut a Spear, or a Horse's Head off. Some say they made Dents in Iron; it is true they left a Mark, with the Violence

Violence of the Stroke, but then the Edge broke, as being of Stone. No Man durst go arm'd in the City, but only when they went to War, or in Hunting, or upon the King's Guard; and he on Festivals, and some particular Days, caus'd the young Gentry to be exercis'd, against there should be Occasion, and for their Encouragement, appointed Rewards for those that perform'd best. He was present himself, and sometimes shot with a Bow, and fenc'd with a Sword, being very expert at both, and did it with a good Grace, tho' but seldom, for the more Grandeur.

THIS King, besides the Houses already mention'd, had several others for Pleasure, with spacious Gardens, and Gravel Walks. The Gardens only produc'd physical, and fragrant Herbs, Flowers, sweet scented Trees of many Sorts. He order'd his Physicians to make Experiments of those Herbs, and to cure the Gentlemen belonging to his Court with those they knew best. The Gardens were very delightful to all that came into them, by reason of the great Variety of Flowers, and their Fragrancy and sweet Scent; especially in the Morning and Evening. It was wonderful to see with what Art they represented several Things in Leaves and Flowers, as Seats, Chapels, and other Things that were extraordinary Ornaments. *Moteczuma* would not allow of any eatable Plants or Fruit in those Gardens, judging that it was not proper for Kings to keep Farms, nor have Things that were for Profit in those Places which were design'd for their Pleasure; that Orchards were for Slaves, and Traders; and yet he had Orchards of Fruit Trees, but they were farther off, and he seldom went to them. He had also without the City of *Mexico* Houses in Woods, and Parks of a great Extent, clos'd with Water, that the Wild Beasts might not break out, and the Game might be safe. Within those Woods there were Springs, Rivers, and Fish-ponds,
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Warrens, fine Paddocks, and Walks, Stags, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, and other such like Creatures, in Hunting whereof the *Mexican* Nobility often exercis'd themselves. When there was to be a Royal Hunting, they made a Ring to drive the Game to the Place where *Moteczuma* was, but unless he was there that Ring was never to be made. At other Times, when the King would go a Hunting in the open Country, with all his great Men, it was a curious Sight to behold, as is now practis'd by the Viceroy's, eight or ten thousand *Indians* and sometimes more, holding one another by the Hands, enclose a Compass of five or six Leagues, whistling and shouting to rouse the Game from their lurking Places, so driving them into the Plains, where the Archers, and other arm'd Men were in the midst, attacking the wild Beasts, and almost taking the Stags with their Hands. About the King stood a good Number of Archers, who stir'd not from their Place, as in the Nature of a Wall, that no wild Beast might break in where he was, and so he saw the Sport in Safety, there being no Horses to run away upon. These were the Diversions of the great *Moteczuma*, wherein few, or no mighty Princes have equal'd him.

As *Moteczuma* show'd his Grandeur in all those Particulars that have been spoken of, so he observ'd much more in his Guards, and the Attendance about his Person. Six Hundred Lords, and Gentlemen of Note daily mounted his Guard, with each of them three, or four Servants at least, and some of them thirty, or forty, according to every ones Ability, and Revenue. They all brought their own Arms, and between Masters and Servants amounted to above three thousands, but many say they were five thousand. They did all eat at Court of the King's Meat, as has been observ'd before. The Servants did not go up, nor did they depart till Night, after they had supp'd; the Masters were above with them

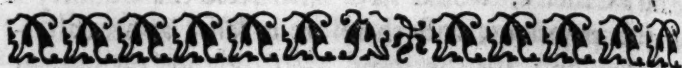
their Weapons, in the great Hall, never going in where *Moteczuma* was. Some walk'd about, tho' that was little practis'd among them; others, being much the greater Number, sate on their little Stools, by four and four, or six and six, talking to one another, and very low, for it was look'd upon as a Disrespect to speak loud in the Palace. In short, the Guard was so numerous, that tho' the Courts, Squares and Rooms were large, they fill'd all. Some of those that were present have said, that *Moteczuma* had doubled his Guards on Account of the *Spaniards*, and for more Majesty, tho' most do affirm, that was his ordinary Guard, because the Lords that were Subject to *Moteczuma*, being thirty who had each of them one hundred thousand Vassals, and three thousand Lords of Towns, besides many other Persons of Quality and Distinction, resided at *Mexico* some Part of the Year, by way of Acknowledgment of their Sovereign, and tho' so many and so powerful, they were kept in such Awe that none of them durst return home to their own Countries without Leave of their Sovereign, and when they went they left a Son, or a Brother as Hostage that they would not revolt; for which Reason they all had Houses in the City of *Mexico*.

His Subjects were so submissive, and those he conquer'd under such Restraint, that no Man tho' ever so great was exempt from paying Tribute. The Nobility perform'd personal Service, spending the greatest Part of the Year at Court at their own Cost, to do him Honour; and if there hapned to be a War, they were oblig'd to serve at their own Expence, which was still more chargeable than being at Court, being proud of carrying more Men, and signalizing themselves beyond what they were bound to in Duty: The Peasants were an infinite Multitude, Tillage being the main profitable Employment there, and those were to serve

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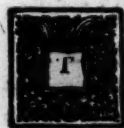
with their Persons and Goods, which was the Difference between the Nobles and the Commonalty, that were lyable to Taxes. There were two Sorts of those Commons, the one being Farmers, who farm'd Lands of others, paying Rent for them, and most of what remain'd went to the King. Another Sort till'd and manag'd their own Lands, and these paid one Bushel in three of all their Crops, and one in three of all whatsoever they bred. The Product of their Lands was *Indian* Wheat, Kidney-Beans, and other Grain. The Creatures they bred were their Sort of Dogs, Hens, Fowl for their fine Feathers, and Rabbits. There were also Handicrafts that wrought in Gold, Silver, and Stones, and among them some very curious Workmen. The Tools they had were all of Stone, a Thing much admir'd by the *Spaniards*. Others dealt in Salt, Honey, Cloth, Feathers, Cotton, Cacao, *Camatli* and Beans, and in all Sorts of Fruit, and Garden Stuff, which were the chief Support of the Farmers, who pay'd their Rents yearly, or monthly, and that being very much, they were call'd Slaves, because they paid twice over, and whensoever they hapned to eat any Eggs, they thought the King shew'd them much Favour, for they were under such Oppression, that what they were to eat was appointed, and the rest was for the King. For this reason they were very poorly clad, and all they had was one Pot to boil Herbs, one or two Stones to grind their Corn, and one Mat to lye on. Nor were these Farmers free with paying these Duties, but to serve in Person, whensoever their Sovereign requir'd it, either in War, or Hunting. In short, so absolute was the Dominion of the Kings of *Mexico* over these People, that they spoke not a Word, tho' their Sons or Daughters were taken away upon any Account, and therefore some said, that every Peasant who had three Children gave one of them

them to be sacrific'd, the which besides it's being so horrid a Cruelty, would have obstructed the Country's being so populous, and therefore is false, as was afterwards known; for the great Men did not eat human Flesh, unless it had been sacrific'd, and that was of Captives taken in War, and it was a Wonder for them to sacrifice any Man they knew to be well born. They were bloody Butchers, and every Year kill'd many Men, and Women, and some Children, tho' not so many as has been reported, and those were the Children of Slaves, and Persons condemn'd either to perpetual Punishment, or Servitude. Those who could not do it in *Canoes*, brought all their Rents and Taxes on their Backs to *Mexico*, at least all that was requisite for the Maintenance of *Moteczuma's* Household, the Remainder was expended on Soldiers, or barter'd for Gold, Silver, Stones, Jewels, and such like things as Monarchs are wont to value and lay up in their Wardrobes and Treasures. Such was the Oppression *Moteczuma's* Subjects liv'd under, and he said it was absolutely necessary for keeping them in Subjection, quiet and peaceable, by reason of their perverse Inclinations. Now they are subject to the Crown of *Spain*, the poor, and meanest Sort of them enjoy as much Liberty, and are as well treated, as the greatest were then; for the Taxes they pay are so inconsiderable, and they get so much by the Improvements with the *Spaniards*, that they wear good Cotton Garments, and feed plentifully, and if they were not naturally so mean spirited, so sloathful, and such Drunkards, they might be very rich, and the Country thrive, because they are very numerous, and if they would work the Soil is fit for it.



C H A P. V.

The Manner of Collecting the King's Revenue; the Grandeur of Mexico; its Original and Situation; the Markets in it, and what was sold in them.



THE Manner of Collecting the King's Revenues was thus. In the City of *Mexico* there were Barns, Granaries, and a particular House to lay up the Corn, and a Chief Steward, with others under him to receive and deliver it out regularly, keeping their Accounts in painted Books, with wonderful Exactness. Every Town had a Magistrate, like a Mayor, or Bailiff, who carry'd a Wand in one Hand, and a Fan in the other, to shew he was the King's Officer. Those Men were very odious to all the People that paid Taxes, by reason of their Insolence, and Rigidness in demanding them, giving ill Language, and sometimes striking those that were to pay. They were wont to be revengeful where they bore a Grudge, under Colour of collecting the Revenues; and gave Account of what they receiv'd, and what People they had upon their Roles, within their District; being all oblig'd to resort to the Chief Stewards at *Mexico*. If they cheated, or could not make good their Accounts, they dy'd for it, their Kindred suffer'd for being related to Traitors, and therefore they imprison'd the Tributaries till

till they paid ; if they were impoverish'd by Sickneſs, they forbore them till recover'd, and able to pay, but if Slothfulneſs was the Occaſion, then they ſuffer'd ſeverely. In ſhort, if they did not pay at certain Terms ſet them, they were taken for Slaves, and either ſold to make good the Debt, or ſacrific'd. The King had ſome Provinces that paid ſomething by way of Acknowledgment, as to their ſovereign Lord ; but in theſe the Honour was more than the Profit. Thus *Motexuma* had vaſt Revenues, which maintain'd his Houſhold, and defray'd the Charge of his Wars at an exceſſive Expence, and yet there was much over to add to his Treasures. Beſides he was at no Expence in Building as many Houſes as he would, tho' never ſo magnificent ; becauſe for a long Time before ſeveral Towns about *Mexico* had been appointed to pay no Taxes, but only to build, repair, and keep up the King's Houſes at their own Expence, giving their own Labour, paying Artificers, and bringing all the Materials. The ſame Towns, and it was no ſmall Impoſition, were oblig'd to furniſh the Wood that was burnt in all the Fires in the Palace, which were very numerous, and they are reported to have requir'd five hundred Loads of *Taimemes*, which amount to five hundred hundred Weight, and in Winter, tho' it were not very ſevere, much more. For the King's own Chimneys and Fire-Pans they brought the Barks of Oaks, and other Trees, becauſe that was reckon'd better Fuel, and to make ſome Difference, that his Fire might not be like the reſt ; for in this Particular they were great Flatterers, or as others ſay, to make more Work for thoſe that were to furniſh the Wood. *Motexuma* had an hundred great Cities, Capitals of as many Provinces, which all paid him Tribute, Taxes, or Acknowledgments. He kept Garrisons in many of them, and had Treasurers to take Charge of the Revenues. His Dominions

minions extended from the North to the South Sea, and above two hundred Leagues up the Country; tho' within that Compass there were some Provinces, and large Towns, as *Tlascala*, *Mechoacan*, *Panuco*, and *Tepeantepec*, that were his Enemies, and consequently paid him nothing, but he made a great Advantage by Way of Trade with them, when he thought fit, because he abounded in all that was proper for that Commerce. There were other Lords and Kings near *Mexico*, as those of *Texcuco*, and *Tacuba*, who contributed nothing but their Homage and Obedience. They were of his own Lineage and Family, and the Kings of *Mexico* marry'd their Daughters to none but them.

THE great and most renown'd City of *Mexico Tenochtitlan* was, when the *Spaniards* came to it, in the same Place where it still continues, seated in the Water, so that there was no coming at it but along Causeways, or in Boats. It contain'd sixty thousand Houses, which is more than there is now, tho' the Towns that are as it were Suburbs to it are very large, lying about the chief Part of the City, and inhabited by *Spaniards*, as shall be declar'd hereafter. The two Cities are call'd, the one *Santiago Tlatelulco*, and the other *Mexico*. The King's Houses were many, and very great, as has been said, representing his Grandeur. The Lords and Courtiers had also stately Houses, with Gardens, Baths, and other Conveniencies for their Pleasure. Those of the other Inhabitants were small, low, and mean, without Doors, or Windows, the King not allowing them to be bigger, that they might be the more distinguishable from the Nobility; at this Time whosoever is best able makes the greatest Show. As small as the Houses were, they commonly contain'd two, four, or six Families; so that there was an infinite Multitude of People, for having no Household-Goods, or Furniture, any Place contain'd many of them. When they

walk'd

walk'd out into the Country, or went to their Sacrifices on Festivals, the Throng of People was so great, that it was hard to conceive where they all liv'd. This City was very like *Venice*, as to its Situation, and twice as big as *Milan*, but much surpass'd *Venice* in the strength of its Structures, Height, and Appearance; the main Body of it being all in the Water. There were three Sorts of broad and spacious Streets; one sort all Water, with Bridges, another all Earth, and a third of Earth and Water, there being a Space to walk along on Land, and the rest for Canoes to pass; so that most of the Streets had Walks on the Sides, and Water in the Middle. The watry Streets were clean of themselves, because they threw no Dirt into them, and those of Earth were often swept. Almost all the Houses had two Doors, the one to the Causeway, and the other to the Water; and tho' all the City stood in the Water, the Inhabitants drank none of it, because it was thick, and therefore Water was brought along a Causeway, from a League Distance; and a Spring call'd *Chapultepec*, which rises on a little Hill, at the Foot whereof are two solid Statues, cut out of the Rock, with their Targets and Spears, representing *Moteczuma*, and his Father, as many reported. The *Mexicans* brought the Water through two large Pipes, made of Clay well moulded together, as hard as Stone, but it never ran in more than one of them at the same Time, because when one of them was foul, they turn'd it into the other, so that the Water ran as clear as Chrystal. All the City drank of this Spring, and it supply'd all the Ponds, and Basins, whereof there were great Numbers in the Noblemen's Houses. Many *Indians* carry'd Water in their Canoes, which they sold to others, that being their Profession, and they paid a Duty to the King for it.

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THE City was divided into only two Parts, one of them call'd *Tlateculco*, and the other *Mexico*, where *Moteczuma* liv'd, signifying the flowing Place, and being the largest and the Residence of the King, the whole City took the Name, tho' its proper and antient Denomination was *Tenuchtitlan*, signifying the Fruit call'd *Tuna* on a Rock, from *Nuchtli*, the Tree, if it may be call'd, or Thistle, for as much as it is prickly, tho' of a different Colour, that bears the said Fruit, which in the Language of *Cuba* is call'd *Tuna*, and among the *Mexican Indians* *Nuchtli*, and the Tree *Nopali*, being almost all Leaves, their Colour green, and Thorns or Prickles grey. One Leaf grows out of another, and being planted they thrive and grow so as to become Trees, and the Leaf does not only produce another at the End, but others sprout from it on the Sides. In the Country of the *Chichimecas*, which is dry and barren, it serves them for Meat and Drink, for they eat the *Tunas*, and drink the Juice of the Leaves. The Fruit is in the Nature of Figs, though not of the Colour, for the Skin is thin, and within they are full of small Seeds. The *Tunas* are longish, with Copper Crowns, like Medlars, some green, and some red, others purple, and others yellow. The white are better than any of the rest, have an agreeable Scent and very pleasant Taste, being very cooling for Summer.

SOME say this great City took its Name from the first Founder thereof, *Tenuch*, the second Son of *Tenemixcoatl*, whose Sons and Descendants peopled the Country of *Anauac*, which is now, and ever will be call'd *New-Spain*. Others also say it was call'd *Tenuchtitlan* from the *Cochinilla*, which grows on another Kind of *Tuna* Trees. *Nuchtli* is the Scarlet Colour so deep, that the *Spaniards* call it Crimson, much valu'd throughout all the World. Be that as it will.

this is certain, that the Place whereon this City was first founded, is call'd *Tenuchtitlan*, and a Native or Inhabitant thereof *Tenuth*, for *Mexico* was not properly the City, as has been said, but the one Half of it, being divided only into two Parts, tho' the *Indians* formerly did, and to this Day do name it *Mexico Tenuchtitlan*, and so it is written in the King's Orders. *Mexico* signifies a flowing Place, or Source, from the many Springs of good Water that are about it on the Continent, all of them so excellent, that they surpass that of *Chapultepec*. Many say this City was call'd *Mexico* from the first Founders, call'd *Mexitl*, and to this Day the Inhabitants of that Part are call'd *Mexica*. The Founders of *Mexitl* took the Name of their principal God, or Idol, call'd *Mexitli*, being the same as *Viziliputli*. Before that Part of the City which is call'd *Mexico* was founded, that of *Tlatelulco* had been establish'd, and so nam'd on Account of its being seated on a high and dry Part of the Lake, signifying a little Island, deriv'd from *Tlatelli* an Island.

Mexico Tenuchtitlan is every Way encompass'd with fresh Water, tho' thick, and being in the Lake, has only three Avenues along the Causeways. One of them comes from the West about half a League in Length, another from the North a League long. On the East there is no Causeway, but only Canoes to come at it. The other Causeway is on the South, two Leagues in Length, along which *Cortes* and his Men enter'd. It is to be observ'd, that as the Lake of *Mexico* stands, it seems to be but one, yet they are two, and of a very different Nature, for the Water of one of them is brackish, bitter, nought, and neither breeds nor will bear any Sort of Fish; and the Water of the other is fresh, and has Fishes, tho' small. The salt ebbs and flows more or less according as the Wind blows on it. The fresh is higher, and so runs into the salt, and not

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the reverse, as some have thought, through six or seven large Gaps that are in the Causeway, that divides them, over which there are very large wooden Bridges. The salt Lake in some Places is five Leagues over, and eight or ten in Length, the Compass of it being above fifteen. The fresh Lake is about the same Compass. Within it, and on the Banks are above fifty Towns, several of them containing five thousand Houses each, some ten thousand, and *Texcoco* was as big as *Mexico*. The Water which gathers in the low Grounds where the Lake is form'd, comes from the Sides of the Mountains, which are in Sight of the City round about it, and that Water falling into Land that has much Salt-petre becomes salt, and not for any other Reason, as some have imagin'd. Abundance of Salt is made on the Bank of the Lake, and there is a great Trade for it. There are on it above one hundred thousand Canoes, or small Boats made of one Piece of Timber, like a Weaver's Shuttle; the *Indians* call them *Acales*, which signifies Water-Houses. Most of the *Spaniards* going thither from *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, call'd them Canoes, according to the Language of those Islands, and gave Names to many other Things there, according to the same Language. There were near fifty thousand of these Boats at *Mexico*, only to furnish the City, and fetch and carry People. The Trenches that ran through the City, as well as the Water near it, are always full of those Canoes, which is very agreeable to behold, the Trade being extraordinary great.

THE Markets in *Mexico* are as large, and as much frequented as any in the World. All Eatables are sold in every little Square, or vacant Place, so that neither the *Spaniards*, nor the *Indians* need go far for what they want. Besides these small ones, there are three very great, which on the appointed Days of the Week are resorted to by a vast Multitude of *Indians*, to buy and sell

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sell all that can be desir'd. The *Indians* call the Market *Tiangustli*, and the *Spaniards* name it *Tianguez*, not rejecting the ancient Name, as they have done in many other Things. One *Tianguez* is in the Town of *Tlatelulco* being a Square enclos'd on three Sides with Shops, and Porticos, in one of those Fronts is the Governour's House, and the Prison, and the fourth is taken up by the Monastery of *Santiago* of the *Franciscans*, of which more will be said hereafter. In the midst of this Square or Market, which is one of the largest in the World, stands the Gallows, and a very beautiful Fountain made by the *Spaniards*. The other is in the Part of the City call'd *Mexico*, now known by the Name of *St. John's Tianguez*, being also a very large Square, so that each of them can contain one hundred thousand Persons with their Goods. There us'd to be People and Goods in both these *Tianguez* every Day in the Week, till afterwards in the Time of the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and the Visitor *Tello de Sandoval*, it was order'd, that the People who came to these two *Tianguez* every Week, should meet on *Wednesdays*, and *Thursdays* in another very spacious Square, nearer to the *Spanish* Town, which is call'd the *Tianguez of St. Hipolito*, because near that Saint's Church, who is the Patron of the City, by reason it was taken on his Day. This *Tianguez* is resorted to from all the Towns in and about the Lake, so that there is such a Multitude of People, that it is hard to pass either a foot, or a Horseback. In short, there are so many Dealers, that we dare not mention any Number, because it will seem fabulous to those that hear and have not seen it, nothing being to compare to this Resort of People, some coming to buy, and others only to see what is sold. The Women are most numerous, having their Goods on the Ground in Stalls, or Tents, and every one of them keeps her Seat, without having

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it taken up by another. Most People coming to this Market to buy and sell by Water, there are so many Canoes in the Passages or Trenches, that they cover all the Water. Every Trade, and sort of Commodity has a proper Place assign'd it, which no other may take up, and it is very good Government. The most bulky, and weighty Things, as Stone, Timber, Lime, Bricks, and the like, are left in the Canoes, or set down upon the Brink of the Water, for those who have Occasion to go thither to buy. Fine and Coarse Mats, which they call *Perates* are brought to Market, the fine are colour'd like rich Carpets fit for any Nobleman's Chamber. There are Coals, Wood, Ashes, Earthen-Ware fine and coarse, and very good Glass, of which they make all Sorts of Utensils from great Jars to Salts. There are Deer's-Skins dress'd, or undress'd, with, or without the Hair, dy'd of several Colours, for Bucklers, Targets, Coats, Shoes, or lining for wooden Armour; as also Skins of other Creatures, and of Birds dress'd with the Feathers on, and stuff'd with Herbs, large and small, very curious to behold for their Variety of Colours and Rarity. The richest Commodity is the Cotton Cloth, finer and coarser, white, black, and of all Colours, and Sizes; some made fit for Beds richly wrought, other Pieces for Cloaks, or Mantles, others for Hangings, Breeches, Shirts, Sheets, Caps, Table-cloths, Napkins, &c. The rich Quilts for Beds are wove of several Colours, and some of them, since the coming of the *Spaniards*, mix'd with Gold, and Silk. Some are wrought with Coney-Wool, and small Feathers, much to be admir'd. There are likewise Quilts of Feathers, or rather of Down, for Winter, some white, some black, and of several Colours, very soft, warm, and look well on the Bed of the greatest Person. They sell Coney-Wool spun, Skeins of Cotton of all Colours;

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lours; but the most remarkable Thing was the Fowl, tho' now the Quantity is not so great, because it is not minded as it used to be, for there is an infinite Number of them tame, wild, ravenous, of Land and Water, and of so many Colours as cannot be express'd, some to eat, some for their gay Feathers, and others for Sport.

THE richest Things brought to Market were of Gold and Silver, some of them cast, and others wrought with Stones to such Perfection that many of them have surpriz'd the ablest Goldsmiths in *Spain*, for they could never conceive how they had been made, there being no Sign of a Hammer, or an Engraver, or any other Instrument us'd by them, the *Indians* having none such. There were Figures, or Representations of their Kings and of their Idols so perfect, and exact, that they exceeded the *Spanish* Paintings. At this Time in *Mechoacan*, they make Images of Saints, Fringes for Antependiums, Vestments, Mitres, the Words of Consecration, and such like Things so curiously, and of such Value, that they are worth more than if they were of Gold. Such nice Things have been sent to the Pope, that no Painting can outdo them. Of those Feathers they will make a Beast, a Tree, a Bird, or any other Thing so natural, that it seems to exceed Art. It sometimes happens that the Artists who employ themselves in that Work, are so absorpt in what they are doing, laying down and taking off little Feathers leisurely, that they do not think of eating all the Day, observing the Sun, the Shade, the Reflection, to see whether it fits best with the Grain or against it, or athwart, or on the wrong Side. In short, they never give over till they have brought their Work to Perfection, and they succeed by reason of their unwearied Patience, which the *Spanish* Nation wants as being more cholerick. The next Trade in Niceness and Reputation

putation is the Goldsmiths. The Masters at this Trade brought into the Market eight corner'd Plates, which had every other eighth Part of Gold, and every other of Silver, not solder'd, but cast, and join'd together in the Casting, which is hard to be conceiv'd. They produc'd Silver Kettles finely wrought, with the Bale cast at the same Time, and yet it was loose; and so they would cast a Fish with one Scale of Silver and another of Gold, tho' it had never so many; they would also cast a Parrot with his Tongue loose, and his Head and Wings moving; or a Monkey with all its Legs pliable, holding a Spindle in one Paw as if it were spinning, and an Apple in the other as if eating. They enamel, set, and cut Emeralds, *Turkey* and other Stones, and bore Pearls, but not so well as is done in *Europe*. They work Chrystal most curiously, and make great or small Glasses, in which they place Figures carv'd in Wood, so small, that in the Compass of a Man's Nail they represent our Saviour crucify'd, with *St. John* and our Blessed Lady on the Sides, and *St. Mary Magdalen* at the Foot of the Cross, with other Figures on the other Side of the same Bit of Wood, so that the Glas has two Fronts, which would seem impossible were it not frequently seen. To conclude, such an immense Variety of Things is sold there, that it would be tedious to mention them all,



C H A P. VI.

The Subject of the Markets continu'd; the great Temple at Mexico; the other Temples; the Sacrifices, and the Charnel House.



O proceed upon what was sold in the Market at *Mexico*, there was Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Tin, Pearls, precious Stones, several other sorts of Stones that are us'd for Looking-glasses, and very good to make Altar Stones. They also make of Stone, Razors, and Lancets, which are taken out from the Places where they grow, with singular Art, as it were clearing of a Shell from any Things, and they come out with two Edges exactly equal, as sharp as ours. There is an infinite Variety of all sorts of Shells, great and small, Bones, Pebbles, Sponges, ridiculous Trifles, Toys for Children, Herbs, Roots, Leaves, Seeds, both for Eating and Physick, of more kinds than can be rehears'd, and a Man must be a very able Botanist to know them, though whilst they continu'd in their Idolatry, Men, Women, and Children knew abundance of Herbs, because being then extremely poor, which they are not now, they look'd out for them to eat, and cure their Distempers, for they spend little upon Physicians, though they have them, and those perform their Cures with Simples, of which

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they know wonderful Secrets, and have made very notable Cures on some *Spaniards*. They expos'd to Sale in the Market, Ointments, Purges, Waters, and other Things for the Sick, curing most Distempers with Herbs, and have a particular sort for killing of Lice. The Things they sell to eat are endless, for they scarce spare any Thing that has Life, as Snakes without Head or Tail; little Dogs that do not bark; Moles, Dormice, Mice, Worms, large Pismires roasted, which are very delicious to them. At a certain Time of the Year, they skim off a certain very small Thing that grows on the Water of the Lakes of *Mexico*, and clings together, being neither Herb, nor Earth, but as it were Mud, and they gather much of it, which they lay on Floors, like making of Salt, where it dries and consolidates, and they work it up into Cakes like Bricks, selling them not only in the Market, but in other Places, carrying them above one hundred Leagues up the Country. This they eat as we do Cheese in *Spain*, and it has a saltish Taste, and with a Thing they call *Chilmoli*, is agreeable. They say such Numbers of Fowl resort to this Food, that they often in Winter cover several Parts of the Lakes.

THEY brought a Multitude, both of living and dead Creatures to sell, which they either run down, or took alive in Snares, or kill'd them with their Bows and Arrows, among them were whole Stags, very large, or cut into Quarters, Bucks, Hares, Rabbits, *Tucas* which are smaller, Dogs, and other little Creatures that yelp like them, *Cuzatlis*, and others, they kill'd and breed. There are many Shops of large and small Pots, full of Atoel, or soak'd Bisket, or Bruice, made of *Indian* Wheat, and other Things; it is wonderful what a Quantity of this is sold, not only in the Markets, but at the Corners of Streets, and it is amazing how such an immense Quantity of Provisions is spent,

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as Fish and Flesh roasted and boil'd, Bread, Pasties, Cakes, Eggs of very many several Birds, Corn, Bisket, Beans, Lupins, and other sorts of Pulse, Fruit as well that which is natural to the Country, as what has been carry'd from *Spain*. The chief Thing that serves for Meat, Drink, and Money, is a sort of Berry, which they call *Cacahuatl*, and the *Spaniards*, *Cacao*, and so in the Ilands of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*. Nor is it less wonderful to behold the great Quantity and Variety of Colours that is sold, which they make of Rose Leaves, Fruit, Flowers, Roots, Barks of Trees, Stones, Wood, and other Things. There is Bees Honey, and some made of Maguey, and other Trees, but the Maguey affords Wine, Vinegar, Sugar, and Mustard, as has been said. There is Oyl made of *Chianques*, a sort of Seed like Mustard, very beneficial to preserve the Skin against Water, and keeps Paintings fresh a very long Time. It is also eaten, but most generally they use Butter, or Lard. They make Oyl of other Things, and the several sorts of Liquors to drink can scarce be reckoned up. There are in the Market, Stove-makers, Barbers, Cutlers, Armourers, Pedlars that sell Combs, Looking-glasses, and other Things, Porters, and other sorts that some thought had not been among those People. In short, it would be endless to pretend to mention every Thing that is sold there.

ALL that brought any Thing to Market, paid a Duty, by way of Toll to the Sovereign, that he might protect them against Thieves, and there were certain Officers walking about the Market, as a *Spaniard* does now with a Wand. In a House near the Market, were twelve antient Men, who held a Court, to decide Controversies among the Traders. The manner of buying and selling was by bartering, or exchanging one Thing for another, which was us'd

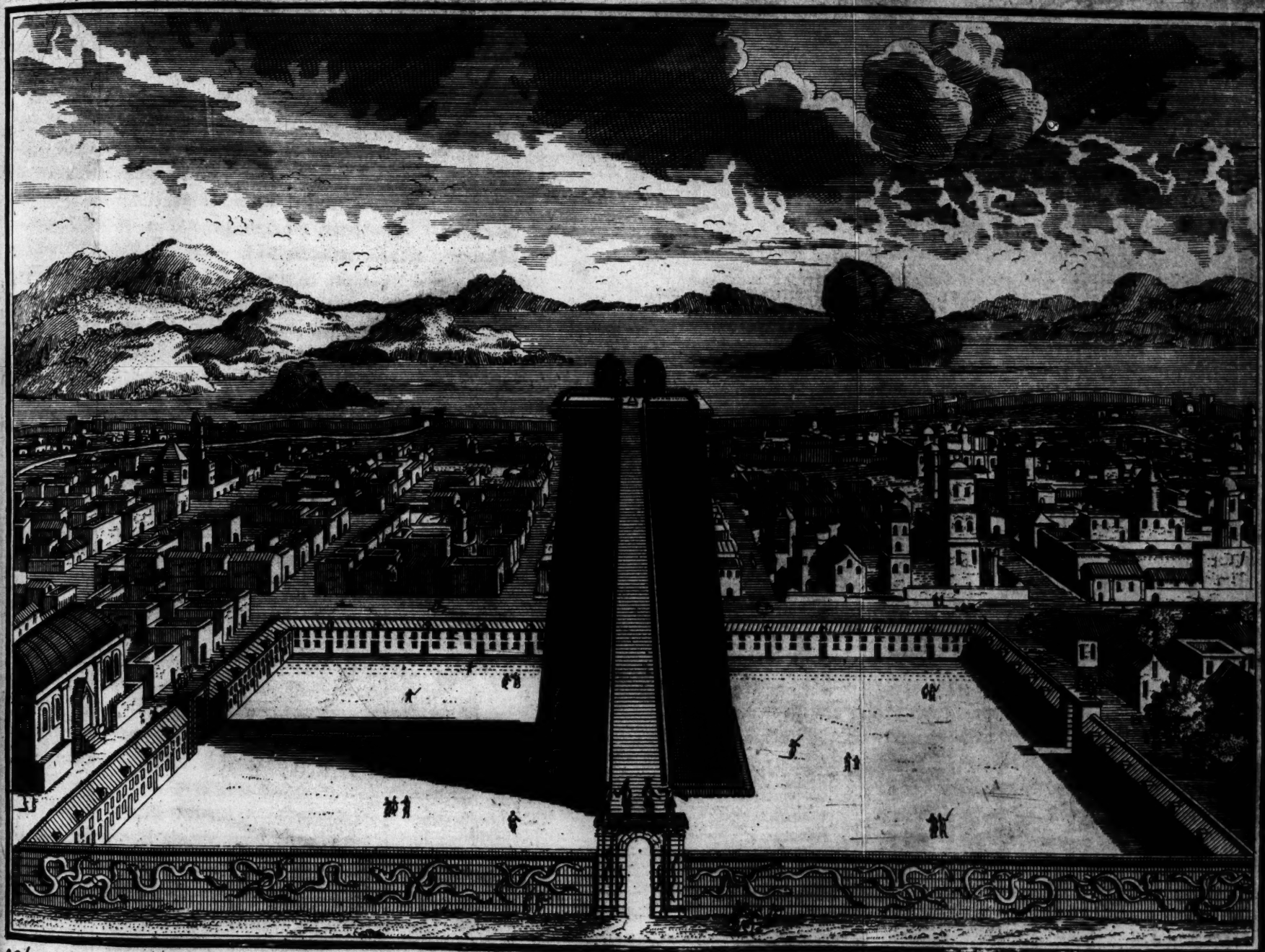
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throughout

throughout all the Country. There was a set Measure for every Thing, even to Grass, which was as much as could be bound together with a Cord a Fathom long, sold for a *Tomin*. Whosoever defrauded in Measure, was severely punish'd, alledging that he was an Enemy to all Men, and a common Thief; and false Measures were broken, as is practis'd among us. To conclude every Thing was so well regulated, that the Multitude of People occasion'd no Disturbance.

THERE is scarce any Nation in the World but what has some Religion, either true or false, and honours one, or more Gods; and it appears by antient History, that the more brave, polite, and civiliz'd any People was, as the *Greeks*, or the *Romans*, the more intent they were upon the Divine Worship, tho' in a wrong Way, never undertaking any Enterprize without consulting their Oracles, which ought to make us blush, who worship the only true God, and are so negligent in that Particular. The *Indians* of this new World were most barbarous in their Worship, shedding Human Blood without Measure in their Sacrifices, at the Instigation of the Devil, of which something shall be said in this Place, reserving farther Particulars for another, to avoid interrupting the Course of the History. The Temple was call'd *Tencalli*, which signifies, House of God, compos'd of the Words *Teml*, which is God, and *Calli*, a House, a very proper Expression, had it been the true God. The *Spaniards* being Strangers to the Language, call'd the Temples *Zues*, and *Kiziliputzli*, *Villalobos*, being the greatest Temple. There were many Temples in *Mexico*, answerable to the many Parishes, or Wards. They had all Towers, and Stairs to go up to them. At the top there were Chapels and Altars, where the Idols and Images of their Gods stood. The Chapels were the Burial Places for the Lords they belong'd to, for all

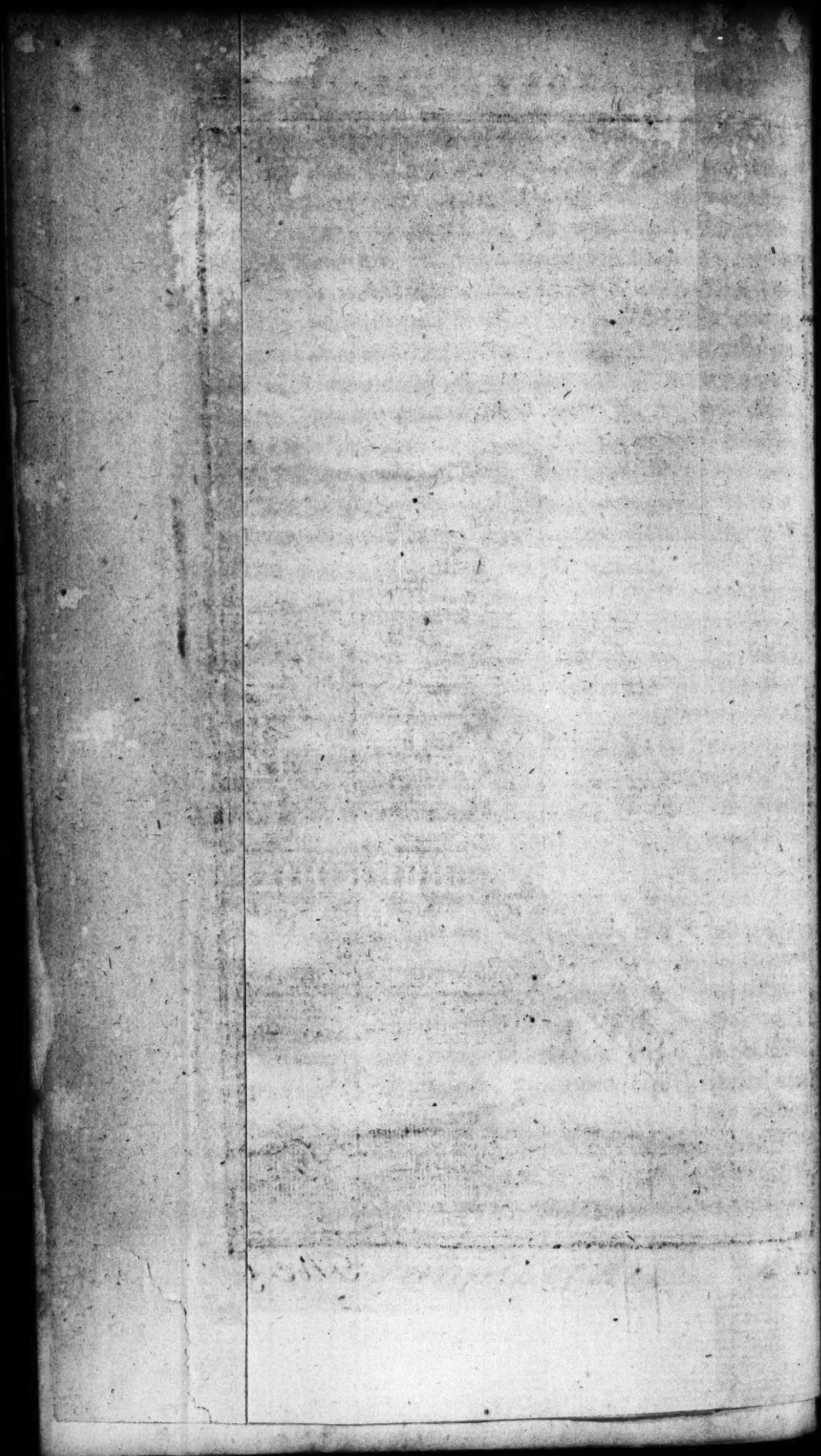




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all others were bury'd in the Earth about the Temples, and their Yards. They were almost all built after one and the same Manner, the greatest Difference between them being greater, or smaller, higher or lower, better or worse adorn'd, and most resorted to; so that the Description of the chief Temple will give a true Idea of the rest, being so very different in their make from those of other Nations, that the like of them is not known to have ever been seen. The Bottom of this Temple was square, about a Musket Shot from one Angle to another, the Enclosure was of Stone, above the Height of a tall Man, with four very spacious Gates, answering to the four principal Streets, which were terrass'd, coming from the three Causways before spoken of, and another Part of the City that has no Causway, but a broad Street. In the midst of this vast Space, which was extraordinary level, and solid, rising three or four Steps from the Ground, was a sort of Foundation of Earth, Stone and Lime well ramm'd together, square like the Court, extending above thirty Yards from one Corner to another, at its rising above the Ground, where the Bulk began to appear. It had large Tables, after the manner of the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and the higher the Work did rise, the narrower the Body became, and the Tables were less. It did not run up to a Point, but there was a Plain, or Flat at the Top, about twelve or fifteen Yards square. On the West Side it had not Tables, but Steps to go up to the Top, each of them full a Span high. The whole Number of them was one hundred and thirteen, or one hundred and fourteen; though some say above one hundred and thirty, and they were of a fine sort of Stone, curiously wrought; so that they look'd very well either close by, or at a distance. It was worth observing to see the Priests go up and down there, in
their

their Festival Habit, upon some Ceremony, or carrying a Man to be sacrific'd. At the Top of the Temple were two large Altars, at a Distance from one another, and so close to the Edge of the Wall, that there was no more Room than for a Man to pass easily behind. One of these Altars was on the Right Hand, and the other on the Left, each of them five Spans high. They had distinct Stone Walls, with ugly and monstrous Things painted on them, and a Chapel made of Timber, like Mason's Work. Each Chapel had three Stories, one above another, all very high, vaulted, which made the Structure rise high above the Pyramid, concluding in a very great Tower, extraordinary beautiful, and agreeable to behold at a Distance. From thence there was a full Prospect of the whole City, and the Lake, with all its Towns, which was one of the finest Sight in the World. *Moteczuma* to please *Cortes*, and his Followers, conducted them up to this Place, attended by his prime Men, as far as the Altars, where was a pretty spacious Place, in which the Priests had conveniency to rest themselves, and celebrate their Offices. *Cortes* being at the Top, looking every Way to behold the finest Prospect he had ever seen, thought he could never sufficiently view it, and blessing God, said to his Men. "What do you think of it, Gentlemen, how good has God been to us, who after having given us so many Victories in the greatest Dangers, has brought us to this Place, from whence we have a Sight of the seven Cities in the Lake, and so many other great Towns. My Heart really gives me that mighty Kingdoms and Provinces will be conquer'd from this Place; for this is the Metropolis where the Devil has chiefly establish'd his Residence, and when once this City is subdu'd, it will be easy to conquer the rest." When he had spoken these Words, he

he turn'd to *Motezuma*, and said, " It was but reasonable that the Neighbouring Lords should be subservient to one that had so noble a Dominion; and that the only Fault he could find was, that so great a Prince, and such a Multitude of People, should be so deluded, as to worship and follow the Devil, who aim'd at nothing, but the Destruction of their Souls and Bodies." This said, they all went down.

WHEN they perform'd the Sacrifices, which they call'd Divine, there were all sorts of Musick. The Priests vested, and burnt several Perfumes, as the People, the Men on one Side, and the Women on the other look'd on, and pray'd towards the rising Sun. On each of the two foresaid Altars stood a very large Idol, representing different Gods. Besides the Towers over the Chapels or the Pyramid, there were forty or more great or small, and other lesser Temples that were about the great one, which though of the same make, did not front to the East, but otherways, to make a Distinction between them; which being all of different Sizes, and each of them dedicated to a several God, there was one among them round, consecrated to the God of the Air, call'd *Quezalcoatl*, and it was of that Shape, because the Air rould round the World. The Entrance into this Temple was thro' a Door made like a Serpent's Mouth, painted after a devilish Fashion. The Tusks and Grinders were in Relief, so deform'd and unnatural, that the boldest Man was daunted at it, especially the Christians, who looked upon it as the true Gate of Hell. It was more dreadful within, because of the Darkness, and the Stench of Blood of the Men that had been sacrific'd. There were other Temples in the City that had the Stairs or Steps to go up to them on three Sides, and others that had some still smaller at each Angle. They all of them had peculiar Houses, with the Necessaries,
particular

particular Priests, and their proper Gods. At each of the four Gates of the chief Temple, there was a large Hall, with good Rooms about it, above and below, which were full of Arms, for they were Publick Houses, because the Temples, besides their being Houses of Prayer, were also Fortresses for their Defence in Time of War, and therefore they serv'd as a Magazines.

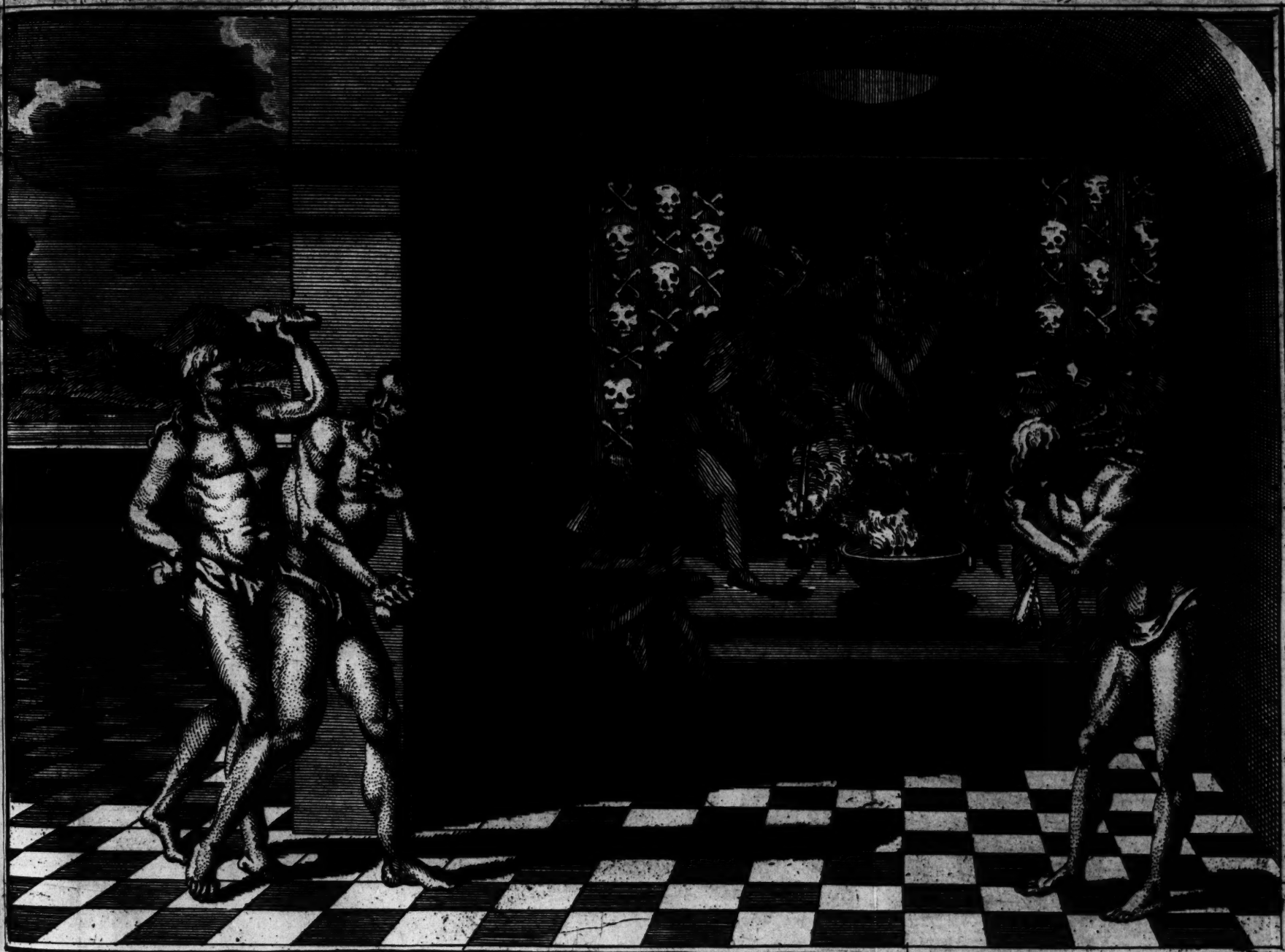
THERE were three other great Halls together, their Walls of Stone, Painted, the Roof of Timber, and Imagery, with many Chapels, or Chambers, that had very small Doors, and were dark within, where was an infinite Number of Idols great and small, made of several Metals, and Materials. They were all dipp'd in Blood, and Black, by reason of their being daub'd and sprinkled with it, when any Man was sacrific'd; the very Walls were crusted with Blood two Fingers thick, and the Floor a Span deep. They stunk abominably, and yet the Priests being us'd to it, went in every Day, as unconcern'd as if they had gone into a very fragrant Room. None besides them were to go in, unless they were Persons of great Note, and to offer a Man to be sacrific'd. Those Ministers waited for People to make that Offering to wash their Hands in the Blood of such as were so offer'd. This they did with as much Satisfaction, and Earnestness, as if they had not kill'd Men like themselves, or those of whom they had not long before receiv'd Favours, so powerful was the Devil to deceive them. They sprinkled those Rooms with the Blood, us'd some in their Kitchens, and gave it the Poultry to eat. There was a Pond of Water brought from *Chapultepec*, where they wash'd themselves clean. All the rest of the Enclosure within the Walls of the Temple that lay open, was divided into Yards to breed Poultry, and Gardens of sweet Herbs, and Trees, Roses and Flowers for the Altars. Five thousand Persons

sons resided there to serve the chief Temple, who all lay within, and were maintain'd by it, being extraordinary rich, for it had several Towns allotted for its Expences and Repairs, all which sow'd much Grain for the Maintenance of those that serv'd the Temple, whom they were oblig'd to furnish with Bread, Fruit, Flesh, Fish, more Wood than was allow'd for the King's Palace, for Religion, tho' false, had always the Preference, and yet those Towns, being dedicated to the Service of the Gods, had more Liberty, and liv'd easier than others. Such was the Temple, and such its Grandeur.

THE *Mexicans* were so blind, and had so little of the Light of Nature, that not reflecting like Men of Judgment, that all Things created were the Effect of some immense and infinite Cause, which is the only Principle, and the true God, they, through the Delusions of the Devil, who ever aspir'd to have the supreme Adoration paid him, and by reason of their horrid Sins, fell into such enormous Stupidity and Ignorance, that within the City of *Mexico* alone, according to the most receiv'd Opinion, they ador'd two thousand Gods, the chiefest of whom were *Vizlipuztli* and *Texcatlipucatl*, who as the principal, stood on the two Altars at the Top of the great Temple. They were made of Stone, well proportion'd; tho' of deform'd and frightful Faces, as big as large Giants; cover'd all over with Mother of Pearl, set about with many Pearls, and Pieces of Gold, Birds, Serpents, Beasts, Fishes, Roses, and Flowers, made of *Turkey* Stones, Emeralds, Chalcedonies, Amethysts, and other rich Jewels, very curiously put together, like *Mosaic* Work, fastned on with that Sort of Bitumen which they call *Tzacotli*, the Mother of Pearl appearing between, extraordinary resplendent. Each of these Idols had a thick Gold Chain made like a Snake about his

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Body, and about the Neck a thick Collar of Gold reaching down to the Shoulders, and ten Gold Hearts of Men hanging to it. They had also very deformed Vizard Masks, with glittering Eyes like Looking-Glasses, which shin'd both Day and Night, and were the more frightful in the Dark; and on the Pole a dead Man's Face, which was no less hideous. All these Things had their literal and moral Signification, among the Priests, and those that were learned in their Religion. Those Idols, as the People said, were Brothers, tho' differing in their Offices, and Invocation, for *Tezcatlipucatl* was the God of Providence, and *Vitziliputzli* was the God of War, and he was more honoured and esteem'd than all the rest. There was another Idol larger of Stature than those two, plac'd over the Chapel where they were. This Chapel was the largest, the best, and the richest, of all that were within the Dominions of *Motezuma*, and the Reason of it was, because all the Wealth of the Country flow'd into *Mexico*, and all paid their Devotion to those Idols. The great Idol was made up of all the Sorts of Seeds of Grain the Country affords, that are eaten or made Use of, pounded, and moulded together with the Blood of innocent Children, Matrons, and Virgins sacrific'd, and their Breasts ripp'd open to offer up their Hearts to the Idol, which tho' so large, was very light, as if it had been made of the Pith of Reeds. As soon as it was dry'd up, the Priests consecrated it, with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremonies, and a prodigious Expence for all the City and Country resorted to the Consecration, with much Joy, and incredible Devotion. The most Religious Persons when it was bless'd, went in a very respectful Manner to touch it with their Hands, and struck into that Mass the most valuable Stones they had, Ingots of Gold, and other valuable Ornaments. When this was done, and the Idol plac'd in his Chapel,



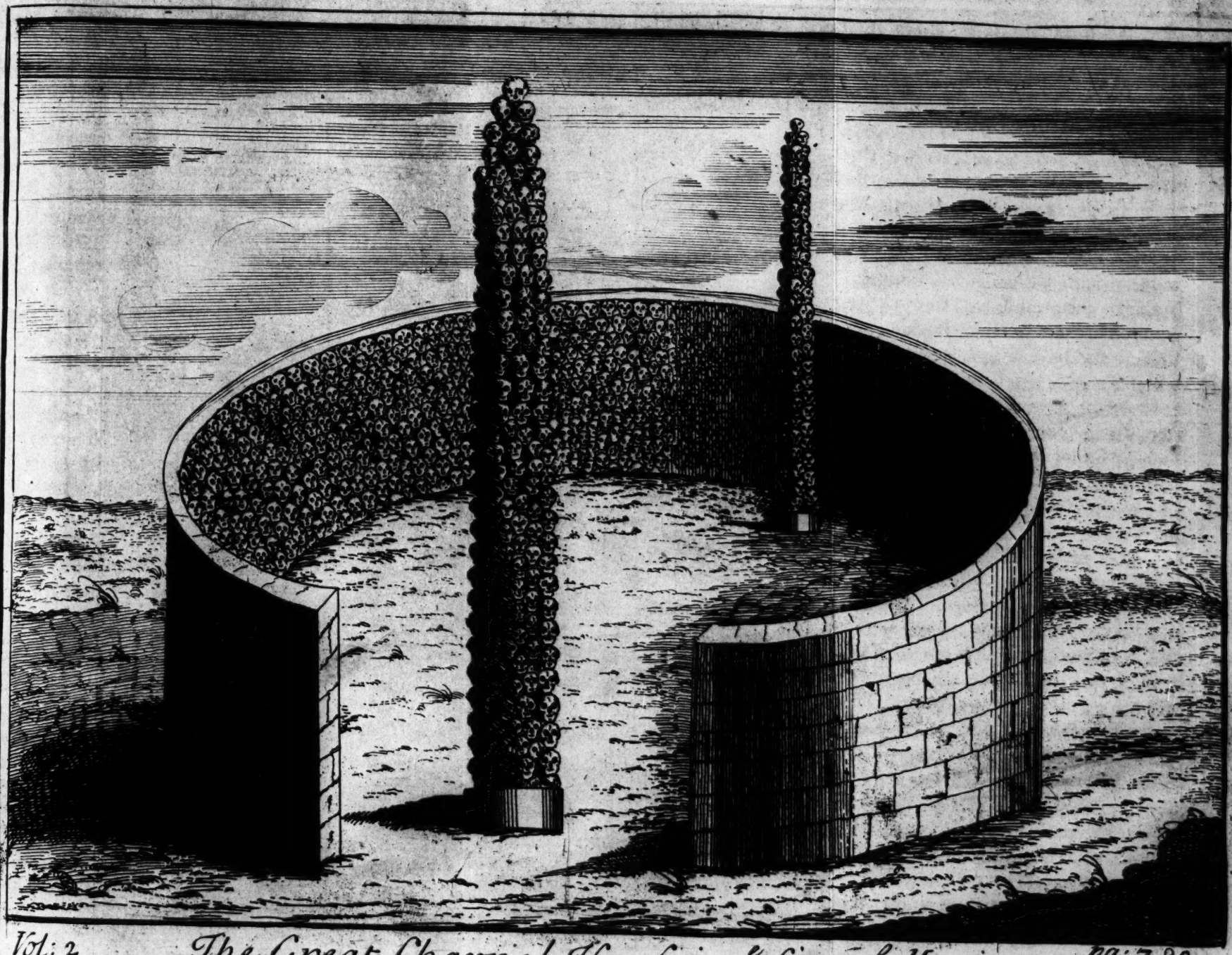


pel, with wonderful Pomp, and Noise of Musick, no lay Person might afterwards go into the Place where it was, much less touch it, nor even any Religious Person, unless he were a Priest, who in their Language was call'd *Tlamacaztli*. This Idol was black, and they renew'd him from Time to Time, breaking the old one into Bits, which were distributed as Relicks among the prime People, and particularly the Soldiery, who wore it about them to defend their Persons. Together with this Idol they bless'd a Vessel of Water, with extraordinary Ceremonies and Expressions, which they kept very religiously, at the Foot of the Altar, against the King was to be crown'd, for he was consecrated with it; as was the General of their Forces, when chosen for any great War, giving him some of it to drink.

THEY from Time to Time made another Idol after the Manner of the last mention'd, the which being broke into small Bits, was given by Way of Communion to Men and Women to eat, who to prepare for that Festival, bath'd, and wash'd their Faces and Hands, dress'd their Heads, and scarce slept all the Night. They pray'd, and as soon as it was Day, were all in the Temple to receive that Communion, with such singular Silence and Devotion, that tho' there was an infinite Multitude, there seem'd to be nobody. If any of the Idol was left, the Priests were to eat it, *Motexuma* went to this Ceremony attended by Abundance of Quality, and richly dress'd. After the Solemnity, in Honour of it, he made great Entertainments, with Diversions, and Rejoycings. The other Gods, tho' so numerous, were each of them appointed to some particular End, and as there are so many Distempers, every one of them had its particular Deity; and in like Manner for all other Occasions, especially for the *Indian* Wheat, for when the Reeds were small, they

they sacrific'd new-born Babes, and others bigger as it grew up, till it was ear'd and ripe, and then they sacrific'd Men. These Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods of the Grain, that they might protect it.

THE *Mexicans* being so very exact in all Religious Observances beyond all others in that new World, either to shew the Multitude of Sacrifices they offer'd to their Gods, or to keep in their Minds the Remembrance of Death, to which all Men are subject, they had a Charnel of the Skulls of Men taken in War, and sacrific'd, which was without the Temple, and opposite to the great Gate, above a Stone's Throw from it, in Shape like a Theatre, longer than it was broad, strong, and built with Lime and Stone, with Steps, on which the Heads were set between the Stones, the Teeth outwards. At the Head and Foot of the Theatre were two Towers, made only of Lime and Skulls, and having no Stone or other Material, at least not to be seen, they were very strange to behold, being dreadful, and at the same Time a good Memorial, Death appearing which Way soever a Man turn'd his Eyes. At the Top of the Theatre, which much adorn'd the Charnel, there were sixty or more long Poles, about four or five Spans asunder, to which were fix'd from the Top to the Bottom, as many Sticks as the Height could contain, in the Form of *St. Andrew's* Crosses, with Heads, or Skulls plac'd between all those Intervals, and made fast at the Temples. The Number was so great, that *Gomara*, who had it from *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria*, two Persons that took the Pains to count them, tell us, they amounted to above one hundred and thirty thousand Skulls, besides those that were in the Towers, which they could not count; and the said *Gomara* condemns this Practice, in regard that they were the Heads of Men sacrific'd, as being the Effect of so cruel a Cause, as was the



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The Great Charnel House in y City of Mexico

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the killing so many innocent Persons; and he is in the right, for had they been the Heads of Men that had dy'd a natural Death, it was commendable to expose them to publick View, to put the living in mind of their End. They were so careful to keep them continually rang'd in their proper Order, that there were Persons appointed to set up others, whensoever any happen'd to drop out, which according to their Superstition they look upon as a Religious Affair.

The End of the Fifth Book.



THE



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

*Cortes goes to see the Market and the great
Temple of Mexico ; receives Advice of
the Death of John de Escalante ; secures
Motezuma ; and what hapned afterwards.*



O return to our History, *Cortes* spent some Days in taking an exact View of the Situation and Strength of the City, considering seriously, on the one hand the Danger he had run himself into, and on the other the Difficulties that occur'd in extricating himself, for he now receiv'd
dreadful

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dreadful Advices, and tho' he endeavour'd to have them disregarded, for the Encouragement of those by whom they were brought, they were for the most Part true. He was told, that all the Nobility had unusual Conferences with *Moteczuma*, and that there was a Talk of killing all the *Spaniards*, which the Devil press'd them to do, it being look'd upon as certain, that *Moteczuma* several Times ask'd his Advice, and was answer'd, it was then a proper Opportunity to sacrifice those few Men, and honour the Gods with their Blood. *Moteczuma* was not altogether averse to this Design, but his natural Inclination to Mercy, and the Dread of the *Spaniards*, check'd him; for besides the Victories obtain'd over the *Tlascallans*, the Execution at *Chulula* had gain'd *Cortes* much Reputation, and struck a great Terror into all the Natives. These Thoughts lying heavy upon *Cortes*, he dealt with that King's Ministers very craftily, always behaving himself very lovingly towards them, and endeavouring that all his Men should do so, and give no Occasion of Disgust. He ask'd Leave to see the City, and the Market, and went very well attended. Next he visited the Temple of their chief God, *Vitzilipuztli*, where the King was, and having paid him the due Respect, pray'd that he would show him his Gods, and how they were worshipp'd. This was propos'd to the Priests, and nothing occurring to obstruct it, they show'd him all that was in that great Temple. *Cortes* told him, he wonder'd that so great a Prince was not sensible of the Folly of worshipping those Idols, and that if he would give him Leave to erect a Cross, and to set up the Image of the Mother of God, he did not question but that he would soon be sensible of his Error; and then turning to *Peter de Alvarado*, he bid him fear nothing, for that Fortune always favour'd those who undertook great Enterprizes with much Courage. *Moteczuma* answer'd,

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swer'd, that had he thought he would have offer'd such an Affront to his Gods, he should not have been permitted to come into the Temple; and the Priests show'd they were disgusted at it. He added, he would then stay in the Temple, and that *Cortes* might go away to his own Quarters. *Cortes* then spoke to the King's Stewards, to give him Leave to dress up a Chapel, where Mass might be decently celebrated, for till then that was perform'd on some Tables, which were remov'd as soon as the Service was over, and his Intention was, that besides having a fix'd Place, where the *Spaniards* ought at all Times to say their Prayers, the *Indians* might see how the Divine Worship and Religious Affairs were manag'd. The Stewards durst not grant it, whereupon *Cortes* sent his Interpreters, *Aguilar*, *Marina*, and *Orteguilla* his Page, who began to learn that Language, to ask that Licence of *Moteczuma*, which he granted, and appointed *Indians* to carry on that Work, and find all Materials, so that two *Spaniards* that were skilful directing them, the Chapel was finish'd by those *Indians* in two Days. The Altar was erected, and all Things provided, the best their Circumstances would afford, and a wooden Cross was rear'd in the Court, before the Door, that the *Indians* might all see what Honour the Christians paid to it. Mass was said, and sometimes sung, F. *John Diaz* officiating, with some others that knew how to do it, which was perform'd every Day till there was no more Wine; *Cortes* being extraordinary careful that his Soldiers should live regularly, and show themselves good Christians, continually inculcating to them of what great Consequence their Example was, they being the first that were to set it to those Idolaters, in order to their embracing the Catholick Faith, which ought to be the principal End they aim'd at; and that they ought to observe strict Discipline, being ready upon all Occasions,

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sions, acting honourably, and obeying all Commands, assuring them, if they did so, that no Disaster could befall them, whereas if they behav'd themselves otherwise, he could not deny their being in Danger.

AT this Time two Men came privately from *Tlascal*, who brought Letters from *Villa Rica*, with Advice, that *John de Escalante*, whom he had left there for his Lieutenant, Alcalde, and Chief Alguazil, had been kill'd with six of his Men, in a Battle he had with the Mexican Forces, in which many of the *Totonaque* Indians they took with them had also perish'd, and that all the Towns on the Mounrains of *Zempoala* were revolted, and would not send in any Provisions; that the *Totonagues* in like Manner began to fall off. The Affair of *John de Escalante* was after this Manner. The *Totonagues* having forbore paying their Tribute to *Moteczuma*, since their Entering into Confederacy with *Cortes*, *Moteczuma's* Commanders, and particularly those on the Borders of *Panuco*, demanded it; and tho' they answer'd that *Cortes* had forbid them paying it, with Assurance that it was the King's Pleasure; the others reply'd, that they had lately receiv'd Orders from *Moteczuma*, and if they did not pay it, they would come and destroy them. They had Recourse to *John de Escalante*, who sent Messengers to desire the Mexican Commanders not to insult those People, since they were all Friends. They answer'd, it was not in their Power to forbear. *Escalante* sent again, to entreat them to desist, because it was the Will of *Moteczuma*, declaring, that in case they did not, he would defend them. They nothing regarding this second Message, reply'd, he should find them in the Field, and might do as he thought fit. *Escalante* march'd out with forty Spaniards, who had three Cross-Bows, two Muskets, two small Field Pieces, and about two

thousand Confederate *Indians*. He found the *Mexicans*, being double his Number, in the Field; they engag'd, and the *Totonaques* fled at the first Onset, leaving some dead. The *Spaniards* being forsaken by their Allies, stood their Ground, and routed the *Mexicans*, who having never felt them before, could not stand the Edges of the *Spanish* Swords. They pursu'd them as far as the Town that was afterwards call'd *América*, and burnt it. *John de Escalante* was much wounded in this Fight, and his Horse kill'd, and six of the Men were dangerously hurt. *Escalante* dy'd of his Wounds as soon as he came to *Villa Rica*. The *Indians* carry'd off one Soldier alive, whose Name was *Arguello*, a Native of *Leon*, a Man of a great Head, a black curl'd Beard, very lusty and strong, who being sent to *Motexuma*, for this hapned before *Cortes* enter'd *Mexico*, he dy'd by the Way of his Wounds, and because he stunk they carry'd the Head, which being of a lusty Man, put him into a Consternation. He would not have it offer'd at any of the Temples in *Mexico*, but in some one without; and said, he wonder'd how it came to pass that his Men being so numerous did not vanquish that small Number, and that he was convinc'd those Men were not immortal, tho' they appear'd to be very brave. The Consternation he was put into by the Sight of *Arguello's* Head, some say, proceeded from the Predictions he had, that such Men should conquer his Monarchy, and change the Religion.

Cortes hearing what had hapned, because it was requisite to have an able Man in the Town of *Villa Rica*, sent thither *Alonso de Grado*, a Person of good Abilities, but not much a Soldier, to be *Alcalde*, and his Lieutenant, and conferr'd on *Gonzalo de Sandoval* the Post of Chief *Alguazil*, yet so that he might still stay at *Mexico*. He charg'd *Grado* to take care of the Inhabitants

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and respect them, and not suffer any Wrong to be done to the confederate *Indians*, or any Thing to be taken from them by Force, and to be very diligent in finishing the Work of the Fort. When *Alonso de Grado* came to *Villa Rica*, he behav'd himself very loftily with the Soldiers, demanding Presents of the neighbouring Towns, and little regarded the finishing of the Fort. It being likewise known, that he discover'd an Inclination for *James Velasquez*, and had propos'd it to some of his Friends to receive him if he should come, *Cortes* order'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to send him Prisoner to *Mexico*, and stay himself at *Villa Rica*. *Alonso de Grado* having been some Days confin'd, was restor'd to the Favour of *Cortes*, who after having sent away *Sandoval*, conferr'd with some Noblemen of *Tlascala* and *Chulula*, to discover the Occasion of what had been done by *Conatlopoca*, for that was the Name of the *Mexican* General. They assur'd him that he durst never have presum'd to act against *Escalante*, without positive Orders from the King. *Cortes* hereupon considering the Danger he was in, by conferring other Discoveries he had made, and that if he departed the City he should still be in more Danger of Perishing, besides his losing all the Reputation he had gain'd, with an undaunted Courage resolv'd to put all to the Hazard upon seizing the King's Person, a bold and difficult Enterprize with Relation to the present Posture of Affairs, and the Power of that mighty Prince. Tho' some few with whom he immediately advis'd, laid before him the Difficulty of succeeding in an Affair of that Nature; others were of his Opinion, whereupon he concluded to put it in Execution, believing that they must inevitably perish unless they had that Hostage for their Security. When he had fix'd this Resolution, several *Tlascallans* came to him, with an Account that the *Mexicans* publicly

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talk'd of breaking down the Bridges about the City and had already made many warlike Preparations, advising him to consider what was to be done before it was too late.

Cortes told them, he very well knew what was in Agitation, that the Danger was not so great as they imagin'd, and that they should not fear, since God was for them. He walk'd that Night alone in a great Hall, studying upon the Manner of putting his Design in Execution, and was there inform'd by *Alonso Nunez*, a Master Bricklayer, or Mason, that there was a Door which had been lately made up, and plaster'd over. Cortes order'd it to be immediately broke open, to see what was meant by it. He went in that Way, with some Soldiers, and found several Rooms stor'd with rich Feather Works, Jewels, Cotton Garments, Idols, and other Things of Value. He caus'd the Door to be shut up, without touching any thing, for it had all belong'd to *Acaxaya*, *Motexuma's* Father, and immediately sent for all the Commanders, and those whom he us'd to consult in his Affairs, and told them, " They knew the Danger they were in, as well by
" what had been found out by the Affair of *Comalpa-*
" *poca*, which they had receiv'd from *Vera Cruz*, as
" by the Informations the *Tlascallans* gave; for which
" Reason, unless they could propose some better Ex-
" pedient, he had resolv'd to seize *Motexuma*, bring
" him away to his Quarters, and keep him under a
" strong Guard; because whilst *Motexuma* was in
" their Hands, the *Mexicans* would not dare to attempt
" what he had heard was design'd by them; and that
" in case they should, when once their Sovereign was
" dead, there would be so many Divisions among them
" about the Election of a new King, that it was like-
" ly some one Party for their own Advantage would
" join with them, which would strengthen them
" against

“ against the other ; for that there was no Way of departing the City but like Fugitives, that would be every where despis’d and kill’d, before they could come to *Tlascala*; and therefore since they were every Way in Danger, it was best to follow such a bold Resolution as he had pitch’d upon.” He then desir’d them all to speak their Minds freely. Some would have had him come to an Agreement with *Moteczuma*, about departing out of *Mexico*, for since he had made such advantageous Offers to prevent their Coming into the City, he would bid as much to have them gone; they looking upon the Design of Seizing him as a Rashness. Others said, That since it was not certain that if they propos’d to depart the City *Moteczuma* would protect or give them any of his Treasures, it was better to put *Cortes*’s Design in Execution, because as appear’d by the Letter from *Villa Rica*, he had order’d those *Spaniards* to be kill’d, and his Intentions were evil; besides, that it was scandalous and dangerous to depart the City upon Terms or without them; and since they were then in, it would be unreasonable upon uncertain Hopes of the Safety of their Lives, to omit doing so great a Piece of Service to God and the King, as it would be to possess themselves of *Mexico*, for if that succeeded, it would be an easy Matter to subdue all the rest of that Empire. The Majority gave into this Opinion, and it was resolv’d that *Cortes* should put his Design in Execution; and when he had told them how he intended to do it, they all went to Rest.

THE next Day, at the usual Hour of visiting the King, *Cortes* went, attended by thirty of his Commanders and Prime Men, leaving all the rest very still, in a Readiness, divided into several small Detachments, at the most proper Posts. He order’d those that went out with him to go slyly away to the Palace, by two and

and two, or three and three, as if they were walking about. *Moteczuma* came out to meet *Cortes*, and conducted him into a Room where his Seat was; the thirty *Spaniards* went in after him, and being well pleas'd with his Discourse, he gave him many Gold Jewels, and a Daughter of his own, besides some of other great Men, his own for him to marry her, and the others to wait on her, or to be distributed among his Gentlemen. He accepted of them for fear of offending him, saying he always favour'd him as became so great a Prince, but that he could not marry that Lady, because the Christian Religion would not allow of it, both on account that she was not baptiz'd, and of his being already marry'd, and that he could have but one Wife. However *Moteczuma* would have him to take her, that he might have Grandsons by so brave a Man.

WHEN the above-mention'd Discourse was over, *Cortes* told *Moteczuma*, " That *Couatlpopoca*, his Subject
 " and General on the Frontiers, and Lord of the City,
 " of *Nauhilan*, having sent for some *Spaniards* to that
 " Place under Colour of Friendship, had murder'd
 " three of them, and would have destroy'd the rest,
 " if God had not deliver'd them; and that the Com-
 " mander of *Vera Cruz* calling him to Account for
 " that Treachery, they came to a Battle, and he had
 " kill'd eight *Spaniards* more. That being oblig'd
 " to answer for those Men, he had taken Care to en-
 " quire who had been in the Fault, and finding that
 " all the People laid it upon him, (tho' here to not be-
 " lieve it, looking upon him to be the King's Mas-
 " ter's good Friend, as he had assur'd him) he thought
 " it absolutely necessary (to the End that those who
 " had been guilty of that Crime, and those who said
 " he had order'd it, might be punish'd, to deter others
 " from being unjust to their Lord) that he should go
 " with

“ with him to his Quarters, where he should be serv’d
 “ as punctually as in his own Palace, or better, for he
 “ would be very well pleas’d with the Service the *Spaniards*
 “ should do him, and delighted with their Con-
 “ versation; and that he should be no longer detain’d
 “ than till he had sent for the Offenders, and they
 “ two were agreed on what was to be done with them.
 “ He begg’d him not to be concern’d at it, for he
 “ knew that when he was once acquainted with his
 “ Men he would be loath to go from them.

Moteczuma having listned with much Attention to all
 that *Cortes* said, seeming to be much astonish’d, said,
 “ He knew nothing of what he had told him had hap-
 “ ned in that City, the Lord whereof was his Subject,
 “ and that perhaps they were the *Tlascallans* that had
 “ told him he was concern’d in that Affair, which he
 “ did not wonder at, since they were his Enemies,
 “ and would be glad of his Ruin; but he might be
 “ assur’d, that no such Thing had been done by his
 “ Command.” This said, he call’d two Noblemen
 that were by, and order’d them to go away to *Naubtlan*,
 and command *Conatlopoca*, and all that had a
 Hand in the Death of the *Spaniards* to appear before
 him; giving them a little Stone he took off from his
 Arm to show them, and that in case they refus’d to
 obey, they should make War on them, with the Assist-
 ance of the neighbouring Lords, till they brought them
 away Prisoners. He then turn’d to *Cortes*, and told
 him, he saw he had sent for the Offenders, and therefore
 desir’d he would let him stay there, since he was not
 likely to forsake his House, or to fly into the Moun-
 tains, and he would be satisfy’d that *Cortes* and his
 Companions should stay there. This Point was long
 bandy’d, and the Controversy lasted till three in the
 Afternoon, when *Cortes* perswaded him to go. He or-
 der’d certain Rooms to be fitted up, and a Bier brought
 to

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to carry him, which was done by the Lords that were present. Some Tokens of Uneasiness appear'd by the Way, but *Moteczuma* order'd all Persons to be quiet.

MANY Noblemen resorted to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, being very melancholy, expressing their Sorrow for that Innovation, and offer'd to do any Service that should be enjoyn'd them. *Cortes* being sensible of the Boldness of his Enterprize, and the Danger he was in, to provide for the worst, order'd two Brigantines to be built, that would carry two hundred Men, to come into and go out of the City as there should be occasion. They were soon finish'd, and he kept them under a strong Guard, near his Quarters, to the no small Amazement of the *Indians*. *Moteczuma* fearing lest any Harm that might be done to the *Spaniards* by his People, would redound upon himself, put on a good Face to conceal the Grief that perplex'd him, telling the Men of Quality that serv'd and visited him, there was no occasion to be so much concern'd, since he was alive and well, liv'd in that Apartment at his Ease, and no Injury or Affront was offer'd him; that he had chosen to go thither to convince the *Spaniards* that what had been said of him in relation to *Conatlopoca* was not true, that he design'd to punish him, to the end that no other should be guilty of the like; that he would stay there till *Cortes* was satisfy'd, and that since he might depart from thence whensoever he should think fit, they ought to set their Hearts at rest, and as they had always lov'd him, they should show it at that Time. As soon as brought into the Apartment, *Cortes* set a Guard over him, and gave the Command of it to *John Velasquez de Leon*, and if particular care had not been taken, he would have been convey'd away, for Walls where broke through, and other Methods

thods try'd; and one Day he attempted to throw himself off from the flat Roof of a House, that was ten Fathoms high, for his People that were underneath to catch him, had not a *Spaniard* that was upon the Guard, and near his Person, held him. *Cortes* visited him every Day, and for his Diversion order'd the Soldiers to exercise their Weapons, and to play, with which he was very much pleas'd, and generously rewarded them. His own Servants waited on him, as they were wont to do in his Palace, and so did the *Spaniards*, who by *Cortes's* Command honour'd and respected him as a King. There he decided Law-Suits, dispatch'd all Business, and attended the Government of his Kingdoms, speaking either in private or publick to any Persons whatsoever; and yet the *Indians* were so restless and uneasy, that they never ceas'd by Day or Night to attempt rescuing of him. For this Reason, *Cortes* order'd *Rodrigo Alvarez Chico*, a brave and watchful Man, to guard the back-side of the House with sixty Men, twenty mounting at a Time; and *Andrew de Montarraz* to do the same before the Palace, with the like Number. *Motexuma* was serv'd like a great Prince, the Diet that was brought him by four and four Men holding up the Dishes; with much Respect, made a long Train; and when he had done, all the Meat was divided among the Gentlemen that serv'd, and the *Spaniards* that guarded him. His Bed consisted of many costly Cotton Blankets, some of them very fine, some quilted and cover'd with others of great Value, made of Feathers and Coney-Wooll, which are very warm, soft, and extraordinary slightly, being of various natural Colours. The Bed was laid on Mats, and a wooden Bedstead, all fitted either for the Heat or Cold.

Cortes took special Care that his *Spaniards* should speak to and treat with *Motexuma* in most respectful Manner, as became so great a Prince, setting them an Example himself, for every Time he came in to visit him, he made several Bows down to the Ground, which seem'd in some Measure to satisfy him. He often offer'd him his Liberty, saying, he might return to his own Palace if he thought fit, for he did not keep him as a Prisoner. He answer'd, he thank'd him, and was well there, because he wanted nothing that was proper for his Service, and was pleas'd to be there, that he might have the more Opportunity of conversing with the *Spaniards*. whom he lov'd better every Day, as liking their Behaviour; and because it might happen, that if he return'd Home, his People being more at Liberty to talk with him, would importune him to do something in Prejudice of the *Spaniards*. *Motexuma* sometimes went out from that Apartment, attended by a Number of Soldiers, to visit those Temples that were most honour'd by the prime Nobility; and at other Times to take his Pleasure at his Country Houses, a League or two from the City, but always return'd to lye at the *Spanish* Quarters. He likewise went in great Canoes, that carry'd sixty Men; before his was always a very small one, with two to row, and an *Indian* richly clad, standing, carry'd the three Gold Rods before spoken of, upright in his Hand, in the Nature of a royal Penon. The two Brigantines, being the first that *Martin Lopez* built, went along to guard him, and were afterwards burnt by the *Indians*, when *Cortes* march'd out against *Narbaez*. The *Spaniards* then stood very diligently upon their Guard, for that was the Time when most Harm might be done them. The Diversion *Motexuma* took on the Lake was shooting Birds with a Trunk, at which he was very dextrous. Sometimes he went out to the Moun-

tain

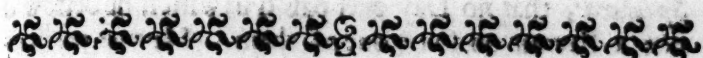
tains to hunt wild Beasts with Nets, Bows and Arrows, and Hawking, which he did not use much, tho' for Grandeur he kept many Eagles, and other stately Birds of Prey. When he went a Hunting, he was carry'd on Men's Shoulders, with his *Spanish* Guards, and three thousand *Tlascallans*, and he could not but be much concern'd to see them, because they were his antient Enemies. The great Men, his Vassals, attended him, and he entertain'd them all very graciously, bestow'd many Gifts and Favours on them all. He took Delight in giving, and was so generous towards those he lik'd, that *Cortes* one Day told him the *Spaniards* were unlucky, and being never idle had rumag'd the House, and taken some Gold they found in certain Chambers, he therefore desir'd to know what he would have done with it, meaning that which he had found, when he caus'd the Door before spoken of to be broke open. *Moteczuma* answer'd, That belongs to the City Gods, but let them leave the Feathers and other Things that are not of Gold and Silver, and do you take the rest for yourself, and then if you will have more I will give it you. That Treasure *Alonso de Ojeda* in his Memorials, says, was inestimable, and he was an Eye Witness. The *Spaniards* call'd those Rooms where the said Wealth was, the Jewel House. The Chests the Cotton Cloth or Garments lay in, were so large, that they reach'd up to the Top of the Rooms, and so wide, that when empty, two *Spaniards* lay in each of them. Above one thousand Loads of Cloth were carry'd out into the Court, which *Cortes* would have return'd to *Moteczuma*, but he refus'd, saying, he never took that again which he had once given. *Cortes* divided that Cloth among the Soldiers, as he thought fit,

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For as much as it is not proper to omit any Particular that is remarkable, among other Things admir'd in the good Government of *Moteczuma*, was his Care to have the City of *Mexico* kept clean, to which Purpose, a considerable Number of Men were appointed to be continually Sweeping and Watering the Streets, placing great Pans of Fire in them at certain Distances, and whilst some slept others watch'd, so that there were always enough to look to the City, and observe what was done in it, by Day and by Night. *Cortes*, who took Notice of every Thing, observing that the *Naborias*, which are *Indian* Servants, did put *Moteczuma* to a great Expence, order'd them to be dismiss'd, and that every *Spaniard* should have only one *Indian* Woman, to dress his Meat, and the rest to be so dispos'd of, that they might not be maintain'd at the Charge of *Moteczuma*, and that it should be without the City, that they might not be troublesome to *Moteczuma*, and his People. *Cortes* could not do this so privately but that the King heard of it, who sent for him, and in a grave and loving Manner told him, he admir'd he should so much undervalue him, as to cause the *Naborias* to be turn'd out of the City, to save him that Expence, that he should consider what they would say who were acquainted with his Grandeur. As soon as he had spoke those Words, before *Cortes* could answer him, he order'd some Prime Men that were present to put the *Naborias* belonging to the *Spaniards* into a very good Apartment, and give them a double Allowance every Day. *Cortes* kiss'd his Hands for that Favour, begging Pardon, if he had err'd in what he did, declaring he had not design'd to displease him. *Moteczuma* took such Care of all Things for the Use of the *Spaniards*, that he appointed them certain Houses for easing themselves, which for that Reason were call'd *the Maxixato*, that is, of the Easing of Nature, certain

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tain *Indians* being always employ'd to keep them clean and sweet.



CHAP. II.

Moteczuma's Generosity, and Severity; Cortes discourses him about Religion; his Answer; Couatlopoca burnt, with some others; Moteczuma reprov'd.



THE House the *Spaniards* were quarter'd in being extraordinary large, *Alonso de Ojeda* walking about several Rooms, found in one of them many small Sacks, about half a Yard long, full, and ty'd up very close. He took one of them, which he carry'd out, and opening it before several of his Comrades, saw it was full of Lice, which he affirms is certainly true, and so they quickly ty'd it up again, much admiring at the Meaning of it. They told *Cortes*, who ask'd *Marina* and *Aguilar* about it. They answer'd, that all Persons were so submissive to the King, that those who through extream Poverty or Sicknes could not pay Taxes to the King, were oblig'd to louse themselves, and to keep the Lice to pay them as an Acknowledgment, and that the poor Sort being very numerous, there were several Bags of Lice, the most remarkable Thing that ever was heard of, and which sufficiently shews the wonderful Subjection of those People. Some say, those were not Lice, but small

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small Worms, however *Alonso de Ojeda* in his Memorial, asserts it, as an Eye Witness, and so does *Alonso de Mata*. The King was so affable and loving to the *Spaniards*, that no Day ever pass'd in which he bestow'd not a Favour on some one of them. He was particularly very fond of one *Peña*, and jesting frequently with him, would snatch his Cap off his Head, and throw it down from a Gallery to make him run down for it, and then gave him some Jewel of Value. He took an extraordinary Fancy to him, and would certainly have made him very rich, had not his unfortunate Death prevented it; for he could never forbear smiling and being pleas'd whensoever he saw him, tho' *Cortes* were present; nor did he ever eat, or go abroad to divert himself but *Peña* was with him, and with good Reason, for he was pleasant, graceful, well shap'd, and discreet in all he said or did. *Moteczuma* was so generous, that he seem'd to contrive Opportunities to bestow his Favours, and seeing *Alonso de Ojeda* with a new Pouch of that Sort which are gather'd, and have several Purles in them, wrought with Silk, he begg'd it of him, view'd it nicely, was well pleas'd, and admir'd its being divided so neatly into so many Parts, to keep several Things. Being much delighted with it, he whistled softly, which was the Way when great Men call'd, some Gentlemen came to know his Pleasure, and he whisper'd them to do something, and in an Instant they gave *Ojeda* two beautiful Indian Women, many rich Mantles, a Bushel of Cacao, and some Jewels, far above what the Pouch would have been worth, tho' it had been of beaten Gold. *Ojeda* humbly return'd Thanks, and as nothing gains so many Friends as Affability and Generosity, the *Spaniards* all lov'd him as if he had been their Father, or Brother, besides the Respect they bore him as a great Prince. He often play'd at a *Spanish* Game of small Bowls

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Bowls on the Ground, with *Cortes*, and *Peter de Alvarado*, and made a Difference in paying the Loofings, for when *Alvarado* lost he gave a *Chalchibite*, which is a Stone valu'd by the *Indians*, but not by the *Spaniards*, and when *Motexuma* lost, he paid an Ingot of Gold, worth at least fifty Ducats, and he sometimes lost forty or fifty of them in one Afternoon, and was glad to lose that he might have an Opportunity to give.

By what outwardly appear'd, *Motexuma* was desirous to please the *Spaniards* in all Things, and accordingly he offer'd *Cortes* another Daughter of his own, more beautiful than the former, thinking that as he had many Wives himself, *Cortes* might have several Mistresses, tho' they were Sisters. *Cortes* propos'd to marry her to *Christopher de Olid*, *Motexuma* agreed to it, and so did *Olid*, on Account of her Beauty, and being the Daughter of so great a Prince. The King was well pleas'd with it, gave him Jewels of Value, and always treated him as his Kinsman. Those two Ladies were baptiz'd, and frequent Conferences were held with *Motexuma* about Religious Affairs, and once *Cortes* propos'd to him, That since he manifestly discover'd the Falshood of his Idols, he should become a Christian, for it was only God that had created all Things, dispos'd of Empires in this Life, and would give him Bliss in the next. Tho' as far as could be perceiv'd the King was not displeas'd with what *Cortes* had said, he answer'd, That he would consider of it. Those who were best affected to him, on account of his noble Disposition, believ'd, and would have perswaded others, that if he had not been prevented by Death, he would have embrac'd the Faith, tho' the Devil endeavour'd to obstruct it; but others could not be induc'd to believe it. About this Time it hapned, that a *Spaniard* who was upon the King's Guard, having lost two *Indian* Women

men he had to attend him, pray'd him, that he would order Search to be made for them. The King said he would, and two Days passing without any News of them, the Soldier ask'd the same again in a presumptuous Manner. *Moteczuma* answer'd him angrily, and the *Spaniards* reply'd insolently, which drew Tears from that Prince, calling to Mind, that he was in the Hands of such a fierce Nation. *Cortes* being inform'd of it, order'd the Soldier to be hang'd, but upon many Entreaties only caus'd him to run the Gantlet. Some *Spaniards* intreated the King to ask of *Cortes* not to execute that Punishment, because among the *Spaniards* it was more grievous than Death. He answer'd, That *Cortes* did as became a good Commander, that he would only intercede to spare his Life, which he deserv'd to lose, and that he would have insisted no less Punishment on any Nobleman in his Court that should have been faulty to *Cortes*. The next Day after this hapned, when the Guard was relieving, three Soldiers went off before they were reliev'd, for which *Cortes* order'd them to run the Gantlet, that *Moteczuma* might know how they were punish'd who did not their Duty, for he behav'd himself with wonderful Discretion in all Cases.

THE next Night, two Hours after it was dark, several *Nabotias*, or *Indians* that carry Burdens, were taken, loaded with Lumps of Liquid Amber, which is a Sort of medicinal Rosin, next in Vertue to Balsam, of a considerable Value. *Cortes* order'd those to be secur'd, who had been concern'd in taking it, and *Moteczuma* being inform'd that his Favourite *Peña* was one of that Number, sent to ask of *Cortes*, why he had imprison'd his Friend, and his Comrades. He answer'd, because he had done him wrong, and taken the Liquid Amber. *Moteczuma* reply'd, that signify'd nothing, that he should order them to be immediately discharg'd

discharg'd immediately, for the *Spaniards* were not to be punish'd for any Thing but offering Violence, and committing Outrages. He was very glad to see *Pena* at Liberty, made very much of him, and desir'd he would never be out of his Presence.

Cortes perceiving that *Moteczuma*, and the Gentry that resorted to him, began to grow easy in their Minds, and to take a Liking to the *Spaniards*; as also that he went abroad on those they reckon'd their chief Festivals, when many Men were sacrific'd, being troubled at that barbarous Cruelty, and confiding in *Moteczuma's* mild Temper, he told him, "That as he
"through the Divine Goodness was plac'd on the regal
"Throne, so any one of the meanest of his Subjects
"might have been seated there; and since he had receiv'd that high Dignity from one only God, who
"bestow'd Kingdoms on whom he thought fit, which
"could not be done by a Multiplicity of Gods, because there neither is, nor can be any such Thing,
"and tho' there were, so many of them could not have the same Power, and the same Will, it was fit he
"should leave the Blindness he had liv'd in, and quit those false Idols he ador'd, which were so cruel as
"to delight in innocent Blood; and that he should worship CHRIST, the true God, to the End that
"his People might for the future know him that created and redeem'd them; and that since he show'd
"so much Kindness to the Christians, approv'd of their Customs, and was so dutifully obey'd by his
"own Subjects, he beseech'd him he would be the first, that the rest might follow his Example; and
"that in case there should be any Commotion on that Account, he would ingage to punish any that should
"insult him." *Moteczuma* listned very attentively, and no less calmly answer'd, "That his People were
"very numerous, and all of them born and bred in
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the Worship of those Gods, and tho' he should
 follow his Opinion, the rest would not, as valuing
 their Gods more than him; and that he did not
 understand how he could ask any such Thing of
 them, since those Gods had given them Health,
 worldly Goods, and Victory in their Wars, and
 when they were angry sent Barrenness, and punish'd
 them." Cortes reply'd, "That was a Mistake, for
 that the Devils, who caus'd themselves to be ador'd
 in the Shapes of those Idols, were no Gods, but
 Creatures hardned in their Sins, condemn'd to the
 Pains of Hell, and could do no more Harm than
 what God permitted, whereas all that was good came
 from the Hand of God, tho' those Devils perswaded
 him otherwise; that he should start no Objections
 against his Request because they were only the Sug-
 gestions and Deceits of the Devil." The King
 again insisted, "That his Subjects would rebel against
 him; and if he should prove stronger than they,
 would go away to other Kingdoms, and leave his
 City desolate." Cortes rejoind, "That if they re-
 bell'd he would subdue them, and if they went
 away he would bring them back." *Moteczuma* sigh-
 ing bitterly, said, "He would propose it to the Priests;"
 and Cortes pressing him, he added, "That he might
 do what he would, but if any Thing hapned amiss,
 he should not complain of him, for he could not
 but tell him, that he and all his *Spaniards* would
 soon be destroy'd, for the *Indians* would cut off their
 Provisions, and make War, and he would not be in
 his Power to quell them." Cortes again urg'd,
 "That they would not be able to do any Thing, be-
 cause God was on his Side, and he would set up his
 Image in the great Temple, by whose Virtue they
 would have good Harvests, and a thousand other
 Blessings, which he ascrib'd to his false Gods."

THEN

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THEN losing no Time, an Altar was erected in a convenient Place in the Temple, and all the Men going in Procession arm'd, the Crucifix, and an Image of our Lady were plac'd on it, with much Solemnity and Devotion, those that had Skill singing *Te Deum Laudamus*, the *Mexicans* very silently looking on, as if God had ty'd their Hands, and Tongues. Cortes put on his best Garments, shed many Tears of Joy and Devotion, and was the first that kneeling down worshipp'd the Crucifix, saying, "Infinite Praise be given to thee, the true God, for ever and ever, for that thou hast been pleas'd, that after so many Years as the Devil sitting on this Throne, exercis'd his Tyranny over so many Nations, he should, by Means of our weak and unworthy Hands, be banish'd to the bottomless Pit, where he dwells. I beseech thee, since thou hast done us so singular a Favour, to be pleas'd to assist us hereafter, that this glorious Beginning may have no less blessed an End, to thy Honour and Glory." After the Placing of the Images, and the Prayer, a good Quantity of Gold was found in Hawk-bells, some of them so large that they weigh'd an hundred Pieces of Eight, hanging to certain Canopies, or Curtains, that were before the Idols; so that none could go into the Place where those Idols were, without making an agreeable Noise of small Bells, with the Motion of those Canopies or Curtains. Cortes return'd to *Moteczuma*, who receiv'd him with a chearful Countenance, suppressing the Grief that lay in his Heart, and immediately order'd a publick Stews there was in the *Tlaxcalco*, where above four hundred Harlots, having every one a little Chamber, expos'd themselves for Gain, to be broken up; saying, that the publick Sins of those Women had provok'd the Gods to permit those Christians to come to his Kingdom and City, and to over-power him; never considering

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considering how much more grievous and abominable their other Sins were, as Sodomy, sacrificing of innocent Persons, eating human Flesh, oppressing the weaker Sort, and depriving them of their Goods and Liberty, without having been guilty of any Offence.

A FEW Days after *Cortes* had perform'd that memorable Action, many *Indians* came to him, loaded with Reeds, and Ears of *Indian* Wheat, almost wither'd, and passionately complaining, said, " See what " you have done, and how little we are oblig'd to you. " Take notice, that ever since you have affronted our " Gods it has not rain'd, and for that Reason our Corn " is parch'd up, and we shall soon starve." *Cortes* with the same Faith that induc'd him to do as he had done, answer'd them as positively as if he had known it. " What I have done is very right, and to the End " that you may be sensible that your false Gods can " neither give nor deprive you of temporal Blessings, " which none can do but the true God whom we " adore, be assur'd, that it will rain before to-morrow " be over, and you shall have a better Harvest than " ever you had; which I and my Companions will " beg of our God." The *Indians* smil'd, as it were scoffing at *Cortes*, who calling together his Men, told them what had pass'd, pray'd them to repent of their Sins, to purpose to amend, and to be reconcil'd if they had any Grudges among them, to hear Mass the next Day, to beg of God together, to send Rain, to the End those Infidels might by that Mercy shew'd them, be convinc'd that theirs were false Gods. Accordingly having all made their Peace with God in the best Manner they could, they heard the Mass celebrated by *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, assisted by *F. John Diaz*, and some others. *Cortes* and others receiv'd the blessed Sacrament, with much Zeal, and Tears. When

the Mass was ended, before the *Spaniards* came down from the Temple, where his had been perform'd, the Sky being then very clear, in the Sight of all the People of *Mexico*, a Hill the *Spaniards* now call *Tepaquilla*, began to be cover'd with a very thick Cloud, and such a violent Rain immediately follow'd, that tho' the Temple was very near the *Spanish* Quarters, they were very wet before they got Home; it rain'd all that Day, and some others following, so that it prov'd] one of the most fruitful Years they had ever known. The *Spaniards* return'd Thanks to God for that Mercy, and the Idolaters were confounded, tho' well comforted, seeing themselves deliver'd from the Famine and Mortality they had dreaded, for those two Plagues generally go together. *Motexuma* was amaz'd, and rejoyc'd much with *Cortes*, who having so proper an Opportunity of making his Mind known to the People, desir'd the King to call together the Priests, and Gentry of the City, whom he would discourse in his Presence about his Religion, because it might happen that they would incline to believe in one God, and cast off their false Idols, giving over the sacrificing of innocent Persons. *Motexuma* was well pleas'd with it, and when they were all come together, in the Presence of the King, the Soldiers being all ready under Arms, for what might happen, *Cortes* discours'd them as follows.

" I have often wish'd, most potent Prince, and you
 " noble Gentlemen, who according to the Custom of
 " your Country are in the highest Places, that you
 " would, laying aside all Prejudice, attentively hear
 " from me, what I have often urg'd, relating to the
 " true Religion of the Christians, and the Error you
 " have hitherto liv'd in, to the Prejudice of your Souls
 " and Bodies; and for as much as I have at several
 " Times briefly and cursorily mention'd this Affair to
 " his

“ his Highness, to some of the Nobility, and to the
 “ Priests that were present, and none has seem’d to be
 “ displeas’d at it; I thought it proper to entreat his
 “ Highness so assemble you all together, to the End
 “ that God enlightning your Understandings, when
 “ you have heard what I have to say, you may be sa-
 “ tisfy’d that I have been much in the right in setting
 “ up in your Temple the Images of JESUS CHRIST,
 “ our God and our Redeemer, and of the most blessed
 “ Virgin his Mother, through whose Intercession he
 “ has, and does daily pour down his Mercies upon
 “ Mankind. To this Effect you are to understand,
 “ that there is no Nation in the World, that reflect-
 “ ing on the true Course of Nature, unless the Light
 “ which God from the Beginning imparted to it be
 “ darkned with Vices and Abominations, does hold
 “ there is more than one sovereign Principle, and one
 “ supreme Cause of all Things, for that Thing is su-
 “ preme which has nothing above it; and since that
 “ which is supreme admits of no Superior or Equal,
 “ as you may know by your own Families, where
 “ none of you will suffer any one to controul him,
 “ it follows of Necessity, proceeding from one Wis-
 “ dom to another, from one Power to another, and
 “ from one Goodness to another, that we must at last
 “ come to that great Power, that great Wisdom, and
 “ that great Goodness which was able to create all
 “ Things out of nothing, for they had a Beginning,
 “ and are not eternal, by whose Wisdom they are,
 “ and for ever will be govern’d and directed, without
 “ any Error, and whose Goodness continually supports
 “ and gives them their Being, making Man Lord of
 “ the most of them. Then since it is impossible there
 “ should be two infinite Powers, Wisdoms, or Good-
 “ nesses, we must of Necessity acknowledge one on-
 “ ly God, infinitely powerful, infinitely wise, and in-
 “ finitely

“ finitely good ; for there cannot be two Gods, much
“ less a great Number, as you yourselves confess. And
“ to convince you of your Error, is it not ridiculous
“ for you to have one God for the Water, another for
“ the Fire, another for War, and so many more for
“ other Things, as if the Name of God did not im-
“ ply a supreme Power, to be sufficient for all Things.
“ So that if there is a God, as is own’d by all Nati-
“ ons, and the Meaning of the Word comprehends
“ more than any Understanding can conceive, it is
“ not consonant to Reason, that many should be em-
“ ploy’d about what one can do ; because one implies
“ Unity, and there is Discord among many ; and he
“ is stronger and more powerful who overcomes many
“ in Battle, than he that is assisted by many. A
“ farther Proof that there is but one God, may be ta-
“ ken from your own great Empire, in which one
“ Man, being the mighty Monarch *Moteczuma*, is
“ plac’d above you all, and he alone rules and governs
“ you ; and if there were two or three more as power-
“ ful as he, his Power over you would be less ; and
“ there being several Wills and Opinions, the Govern-
“ ment could not be unanimous ; and therefore what-
“ soever is united in itself is more powerful than that
“ which is divided, which is the Reason why a wise
“ Man among us, said, That Strength united is more
“ prevalent than when divided into several Parts.
“ which appears to be so by a natural Comparison of
“ your own, and is, that the Liquor you drink be-
“ ing kept close and cover’d in a Vessel no bigger than
“ what will just contain it, preserves the Strength
“ better than if it were spilt in the Street, or put into
“ a Vessel too big, where the Life of it would be
“ lost. It is therefore evident, that since, as has been
“ said, we must own a Power so great as to be able to
“ do all Things, and that no other is able to do so
“ much,

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“ much, it must be only one, and not many, and
 “ therefore it follows that this most mighty, only,
 “ and immense Power can be no otherwise nam’d than
 “ God, and not Gods; and that he is one God, and
 “ not many Gods, plainly appears by his Works, be-
 “ cause all of them together, and every one apart de-
 “ monstrate Unity, and not Plurality. He created
 “ not many Worlds, but only one, and that compos’d
 “ of many Units; he created not many Earths, but
 “ one Earth; not many Seas, but one Sea; or many
 “ Fires, but one Fire; and creating four Elements,
 “ there was but one of each of them; one Essence of
 “ Heavens, one Man, and one Woman, from whom
 “ we are all descended; one Soul in every Man; one
 “ Sun, one Moon, in one Heaven. He gave one
 “ Law, one Faith, one Baptism, to the End that he
 “ being one, all that he made should by its Unity
 “ show the Maker to be one. And forasmuch as I
 “ am satisfy’d you know not whence your Error pro-
 “ ceeded, in believing the contrary of what I have
 “ said, tho’ against all Reason, you must understand
 “ that when God created Heaven and Earth, he also
 “ created two Sorts of Creatures more excellent than
 “ all the rest; the one of them altogether Spiritual,
 “ without any Body, whom we call Angels, or hea-
 “ venly Spirits; the other was the Man and Woman,
 “ compos’d of a spiritual Soul, and such a Body as
 “ you see with your Eyes. Among the Angels there
 “ was one very remarkable, who not reflecting that he
 “ had receiv’d his excellent Being from God, rebell’d
 “ against God, his Creator. The third Part of the
 “ Angels sided with him, for which Offence they
 “ were cast out of Heaven, and as they never did,
 “ nor ever will repent of their Crime, they have ever
 “ since, and will to the End of the World aim at,
 “ and endeavour to carry on two Things. The one

“ is, that persisting in their Malice, and being dam-
“ ned Creatures, they aspire to be ador’d as creating
“ Gods, inculcating that which natural Reason does
“ not allow of, any more than Faith, *viz.* That there
“ are several Principles, and eternal Causes. By Means
“ of this blind Notion they have and do endeavour to
“ promote the second, which is, by believing in them
“ to divert Men from believing in and serving one God,
“ their Creator, to the End that after their temporal
“ Death, they may not enjoy that happy Place which
“ they lost by their Wickedness. Now since God
“ signifies as much as the supreme Goodness and Cle-
“ mency, if those you worship were true Gods, they
“ would be really good ; but since they have so often
“ ly’d to you, and cause themselves to be ador’d under
“ such hideous Figures, as well of Men as of other
“ fierce Creatures, and since they allow of Sodomy,
“ Rapine, Tyranny, Murdering of innocent Persons,
“ and other such Sins, what can you imagine them to
“ be but Devils, and your Enemies ? When you con-
“ sult them, they give ambiguous Answers, to the
“ End that the Thing hapning either one Way or the
“ other, you may give Credit to them. And they
“ being so antient, and God permitting them to do
“ some particular Things, as Thundering, Hailing,
“ and the like, you believe them to be Gods, with-
“ out considering, as I have said before, that God
“ does not hate, nor do harm, nor needs the Help of
“ another to work what Wonders he pleases, as you
“ saw the last Week, when the Sky being so clear, he
“ at our Request, sent you so much Rain, that you
“ never had a more plentiful Year than this will prove.
“ And since, if you lay aside all Prejudice, what I
“ have said is sufficient to convince your Understand-
“ ing, and the late Miracle is a Demonstration of the
“ Truth of what I have urg’d, I beseech you most
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“mighty King, Gentlemen, and Priests, to open
 “your Eyes, and as your eternal Life depends either
 “upon believing or not believing me, seriously to
 “consider what I have said; for I hope in God, if
 “you do so, he will give you Light to be more fully
 “convinc’d of the Truth, I here preach to
 “you.”

WHEN he had put an End to his Speech, they
 all continu’d a considerable Time in Suspence, whis-
 pering one another, most of them being convinc’d with
 the Force of the eternal Truth, tho’ then the Devil,
 as being so much concern’d in it, most violently assault-
 ed them with the immemorial Custom establish’d among
 them of following and adoring him. They all wait-
 ed to hear what *Motexuma* would answer, and he in
 short said, “He lik’d what *Cortes* had propos’d; but
 “that being such lofty Points, he would have him
 “explain them to him very particularly, and would
 “give Orders, that no Men should be sacrific’d.”
 The next Day he sent for his High-Priest, and di-
 rected him to comply with the *Spaniards* for a few
 Days, in not sacrificing Men, tho’ in other Respects
 they should not be hindred from adoring their Gods;
 saying, he had temporiz’d with the Commander *Cortes*,
 to avoid Disturbing his Empire, and raising a Commo-
 tion, and therefore they should permit the Chistians to
 honour and worship their own God, and they might
 do as they thought fit. *Motexuma* was mild, and ve-
 ry discreet, and therefore it was thought he temporiz’d
 with the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* to prevent any Insur-
 rections in his Dominions, and some were of Opinion,
 that he forbore being a Christian out of Fear. The
 Priests, on account of their Interest, and the Respect
 that was paid them, could not dissemble their Hatred
 against the *Spaniards*, especially when they saw them
 hear Mass, and pray in that great Temple; at which

Time

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Time they mutter'd very much, to provoke the Nobility and Gentry not to bear with it. They discour'd it with *Motexuma's* Favourites, and others nearest about him, magnifying the Injury done them, and the Affront to their Gods, who had so many Years supply'd them with all Necessaries for human Life. They continually study'd new Arguments, and ask'd, Why they should quit the Religion they had so long embrac'd, to follow a new one, which they knew nothing of.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, *Conatpopoca* arriv'd, with his Son, and fifteen more Men of Quality, who had been concern'd with him in killing the *Spaniards*, being twenty Days after the Confinement of *Motexuma*. He was conducted into *Mexico* by many great Men that went out to meet him, being brought in upon the Shoulders of his Servants, and Vassals. When come to the Palace he alighted, put on Garments of less Value than those he had before, and took off his Shoes, because none was to appear shod before the King, waited some Time till he had Leave to go in, drew near alone, all that went with him staying far behind, and having made many Bows, and perform'd the usual Ceremonies, with his Head hanging down, and his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, he said, "Most high and mighty Sovereign, here is your Slave *Conatpopoca*, whom you have commanded to come, consider what you will have done, for I am your Slave, and must of Necessity obey you." *Motexuma* very sternly answer'd, "He had done very ill in killing the *Spaniards* without any Provocation, and saying he had done it by his Order; and therefore he should be punish'd as a Traytor to the strange Men and to his King." *Conatpopoca* going about to excuse himself, he would not hear him, ordering, that he, his Son, and the rest should

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be deliver'd up to *Cortes*, who having fetter'd them all apart from one another, caus'd them to be examin'd, and they confess'd the killing of the *Spaniards*. Being ask'd, whether he was *Motexuma's* Subject, he answer'd, "Is there any other Lord in the World that I could be subject to?" They were examin'd a second Time more strictly, and threatn'd with the Rack, and all unanimously confess'd that they had kill'd the two first *Spaniards* by *Motexuma's* Order, as they had likewise those in the Field. When they had made this Confession, and confirm'd it, *Cortes* condemn'd *Conatpopoca* and the rest to be burnt. The Sentence being made known to them, *Conatpopoca* said, That tho' he was to suffer Death for having kill'd those two *Spaniards*, his great Lord *Motexuma* had commanded him, and that he should not have presum'd to do it, unless he had thought it for his Service. He, with his Son, and all the rest, were conducted under a strong Guard of *Spaniards*, to a very large Square, and being all plac'd on a great Pile of broken Bows and Arrows, that were very dry, with their Hands and Feet bound, Fire was set to it, and there he again confess'd the same as he had before. He pray'd to his Gods, as the rest did, the Fire blaz'd, and they were soon burnt, without any Disturbance, the *Mexicans* admiring the Execution done by Strangers in such a great City and Kingdom, and in the Presence of their King. Before and after this Execution, that the *Spaniards* might be always in a Readiness, *Cortes* made Proclamation that none of them should go naked to Bed, and that the Horses should stand all the Night saddled, with their Bridles at the Pommels of the Saddles, because it was suspected that there would be an Insurrection, and that they would attack the *Spaniards* when they were asleep, but the Vigilancy of *Cortes* was thought to have disappointed that Design; and he caus'd the first Soldier

that

that was found to have lain naked, to be expos'd to publick Shame, keeping him two Days in Fetters, in the open Air, enduring the Dew in the Night, and the Sun in the Day, with a Clog at his Foot, no Entreaties prevailing to relieve him, alledging, that Severity was requisite in such Cases.

AFTER the aforesaid Confession was made, whilst they were carrying *Conatpopoca* to Execution, *Cortes* attended by his prime Men, went to *Motexuma*, and said to him, " You know you have deny'd your having order'd *Conatpopoca* to kill my Companions; you have not done therein as became so great a Prince as you are; and since you have occasion'd the Death of my Men, as also of *Conatpopoca*, his Son, and so many of his People, had I not regard to the Affection you have shown to my King, and in his Name to me, who am come from him to visit you, you would deserve to pay for it with your Life, for both the Divine and human Law appoints that a Murderer, as you are, should die. However, that you may not go altogether unpunish'd, and both you and your People may be sensible how advantageous it is to deal sincerely, I will order you to be fetter'd." *Motexuma* was very much surpriz'd at this Reproof, and could scarce utter his Words for Confusion, but only said, He was innocent, and he might do what he would with him. *Cortes* went away from him in a very angry Manner, and immediately after he was fetter'd. It was thought that *Cortes* had us'd this Policy, to divert him from the Grief he might justly conceive at the Execution of *Conatpopoca* in his own Sight. It is impossible to express how much *Motexuma* was concern'd, when he saw himself fetter'd, he affirm'd he was innocent, and lamented his Condition. His Kindred, and Nobility were astonish'd at that Sight, and in that Consternation they wept,

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wept, and knelt down, bearing up the Fetters with their Hands, and thrusting fine Cloths through the Links, that they might not touch his Flesh ; nor could they think what to do, for if they had Recourse to Arms, they concluded their Lord would certainly die, which added to their Terror. When *Conailpopoca* was executed, *Cortes* thinking he had gain'd his Point, went in the Afternoon to *Motexuma*, and saluting him with a good Air, order'd the Fetters to be taken off, telling him, that tho' according to the Confessions of the Persons executed, he deserv'd to be more severely punish'd, yet, for the Love he bore him, and because he could not believe so great a Prince guilty of such a foul Action, he had commanded him to be unfetter'd. *Motexuma* was as much rejoyc'd at these Words, as he had been before dejected, upon being reprov'd, and put into Irons. He embrac'd *Cortes*, return'd him many Thanks, and bestow'd many Favours that Day, as well on the *Spaniards* as his own People. He always affirm'd he had not been concern'd in the Death of the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* pretended to believe him, treating him very affectionately, praying and importuning him to go away freely to his own Palace, as he was before for he desir'd nothing but to serve and please him. *Motexuma*, who knew the Malice of his Subjects, to avoid encouraging them to any Commotion, answer'd, He thank'd him, but that it was not then convenient to remove from thence, and that he was better pleas'd in his Company, than in his own Palace. *Cortes* then took his Leave, many *Mexican* Noblemen attending him, so well pleas'd, that had not the Priests overperswaded them, they had always liv'd in Peace and Amity.

BEFORE the Execution of *Conailpopoca*, *Cortes* being always very vigilant, got Information, that there was great Store of Targets, Darts, Bows, Swords, and

and Spears in a Royal Palace call'd *Tlaco Chalco*, and suspecting that those Stores had been laid up against him, he signify'd so much to *Moteczuma*, who answer'd, It had always been his Custom to keep great Magazines of Arms for War, because he had many Enemies, and that such Precaution had deliver'd him from an imminent Danger, into which he had, among others, been brought by the *Tlascallans*, and People of *Mechoacan*, and that they were preserv'd for no other End in that House, where he had seen them. However *Cortes* thinking it the safest Way to disarm an Enemy, since had a proper Opportunity offer'd for so doing, order'd that all those Arms should be made Use of for Fuel, to burn *Conatlopoca*, and the rest, and these were the Arms said before to have been us'd for Burning of them,



CHAP. III.

Cortes endeavours to discover the Gold Mines; Mexico submits to the King of Spain, and pays Tribute; a Disturbance among the Spaniards; Moteczuma bids Cortes be gone, and why.



CORTES was very earnest to find out how far the *Mexican* Empire extended, and whether they were in the same Subjection without as within the City; as also to discover the other Secrets of the Country, and to send some Supplies to the King of *Spain*, as a Token of what he had

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had discover'd. To this Purpose he thought fit to talk to *Moteczuma*, and being in Discourse with him, ask'd, where the Mines were, in what Rivers, and how the Gold was gather'd, because he would send two *Spaniards*, who were very skillful in that Affair. The King answer'd, that Gold was brought from three several Places, but that the most came from a Province call'd *Zacatula*, ten or twelve Days Journey Southward from *Mexico*; and that there was some to the Northward in other Rivers. That not far from thence, there was some in a Province call'd *Chinamilla*, which did not belong to his Dominions; and if he would send to the *Zapotecas*, he would find Gold there, and Men should be sent to show it. Cortes sent away *Gongalo de Umbria*, who had been a Pilot, with two Soldiers, ordering him to return within forty Days. To the Mines Northward he sent Captain *Pizarro*, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, whom he treated as his Relation, with six Soldiers, assigning him also forty Days to return, and they had all *Indians* with them. Cortes desir'd *Moteczuma* to tell him, whether there was any Harbour in the Coast of the North Sea, within his Dominions, where the *Spanish* Ships might be safe, and he gave him all that Coast painted on a Piece of Cotton Cloth, with all the Rivers and Inlets, from *Panuco* to *Tabasco*, the whole very exact, being about one hundred and forty Leagues, where was represented the mighty River of *Guazacoalco*, and there being much Talk of its Greatness, he resolv'd to send to sound it, and to take a View of the Town, and the People, and all other Things in the Neighbourhood. Captain *James de Ordas* offer'd to go on that Errand, and took along with him *Indians* appointed by *Moteczuma*, being warn'd, that *Tabasco* and *Guazacoalco* were not within his Dominions, but inhabited by fierce and warlike People, but he order'd his Troops

that

that lay on those Frontiers to be assisting to *James de Ordas*.

Gonzalo de Umbria was the first that return'd, with his Companions, bringing three hundred Pesos of Gold, taken out of the Rivers before him, by the *Indians* of *Zacarula*, and said, that the Mines were good and rich. They likewise brought Gold Plates to the Value of two hundred Pieces of Eight, which the Lords of that Country sent as a Present to *Cortes*, by some of their own Servants, with an Offer to submit themselves to the King of *Spain*, provided that the *Culúas* should not come into their Country, and that he should protect them against their Tyranny. *Cortes*, who had a very agreeable way of delivering himself, thank'd them, and gave Assurances of his Protection against *Motexuma*, dismissing them with Presents for their Masters, and for themselves, being well pleas'd that *Motexuma* should perceive how many su'd for his Friendship. *Gonzalo de Umbria* reported, that there were very large Towns not far from *Mexico*, and that they liv'd orderly. *James de Ordas* also return'd, and said, he had pass'd through very considerable Places, where he was well treated, and much respect show'd him; that coming to *Motexuma's* Garrisons he perswaded them not to plunder, or insult their Neighbours, assuring them that they would be punish'd if they did; that as soon as the Lord of *Guazacoalco* heard of his coming, he sent out to meet him, and was pleas'd to see him, because he had heard of the *Spaniards* ever since *John de Grijalva* pass'd along that Coast; that sounding the Mouth of the River he found three Fathoms Water, and farther up, it was deeper, for which reason and because it was of so great an Extent, the Pilots that went with him fancy'd it might be a Streight that ran through to the other Sea; that the Lord had given him some Gold, and made

great Complaints against the *Mexican* Soldiers, saying, he was continually at War with them; and that he having made some Return of such *Spanish* Toys as he had then, came away, being of Opinion that the Country was good to breed Cattle, and make other Improvements, and the Harbour very convenient for the Islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Puerto Rico* and *Jamaica*, tho' it was above one hundred and twelve Leagues from *Mexico*. Capt. *Pizarro* return'd with two of his Companions, bringing the Value of one thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold Dust, taken out of the Mines of the *Chinantecans*, and others; saying, that as soon as they came upon the Frontiers of *Chinamula*, abundance of *Indians* arm'd like the rest, but with extraordinary long Spears, or Pikes, were drawn up, saying, the *Teules*, so they call'd the *Spaniards* might enter their Country and welcome, but that no *Mexican* should be admitted, because they were their Enemies; and being inform'd of what they sought for, they show'd them all the Rivers where there was good Store of it, and that the Country being very good, peaceable, and rich in Mines, he had left *Barrientos*, old *Heredia*, *Escalona* and *Cervantes* there, having with the Assistance of the *Indians* built a large Dwelling, where they might improve the Land, and search the Rivers and Mines. *Cortes* was not pleas'd with his leaving those Men behind, because he was not willing as yet to divide them, or do any more than discover the Secrets of the Country. The Lord of the *Chinantecans* sent two Gentlemen to Compliment *Cortes*, with a Present, offering to submit to the King of *Spain*, complaining of the *Mexicans*, and affirming that they were much hated in those Parts. He receiv'd the Present, and soon sent them away very well pleas'd, because the *Mexicans* did not like such Messages, and he fear'd they might do them some Mischief. *Moteczuma* him-

self could not forbear showing his dislike of these Embassies, tho' he endeavour'd to conceal it, because the *Chinantecans* were particularly look'd upon as a warlike People, and their Country was mountainous.

ONE of the Things that *Cortes* was most intent upon was about sending the King a considerable Supply of Gold, in order, by that means, to lessen the Weight of the Complaints he knew *James Velasquez* would send against him. Tho' he believ'd that *Cacamazin*, Lord of *Tezcucó* bare him no good Will, he desir'd him to contribute to that Design. He answer'd smiling, that he would, and order'd a Servant to go with *John Velasquez de Leon* and others appointed by *Cortes*, to deliver them all the Gold there was in his House, upon Condition that they should not touch the *Chalchibites*, Stones before spoken of, nor the Plumes he had for their Festivals, and Wars. When they came to the *Tlatelulco*, which is the great Market of *Mexico*, the *Indian* endeavour'd to give them the Slip, whereupon they return'd to *Cortes*, who complaining to *Cacamazin*, he caus'd the *Indian* to be hang'd before his Face, and immediately appointed another, with whom they set out, were met in solemn Manner before they came to that City, well lodg'd and entertain'd, and tho' they gave them all beautiful *Indian* Women, they would not receive them. The next Day they look'd out for the Gold, and *Alonso de Ojeda* feeling about in a dark Room met with some Jars, carry'd one of them put to the Light, and found they were full of Honey, sweeter and clearer than the best in *Spain*. A considerable Quantity of Gold was found, besides Pearls, and Garments, but they would touch none of the latter without Orders from *Cortes*, who said, they should take them, if freely given. They carry'd eighty Men laden with them, which *Cortes* divided, and kept the Gold. The *Indian* Women were also carry'd

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away,

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away, because it was an Affront not to accept of them.

Cucamazin mortally hated the *Spaniards*, and going away to *Tezcuco*, told his prime Men, how much he lov'd them, desiring they would reflect how they were kept under by that Handful of Strangers, presuming to confine his Uncle *Motezuma*, to whom the greatest Respect was due, next to the Gods; that it was not tolerable that so small a Number, and those of another Religion, should shamefully turn them out of their Houses, and what was still worse, to set up their Gods in the Temple instead of those of the Country; that it was high Time to stand up for their Religion, their Liberty, their Honour, their Country, and their King, without waiting till they had Succours from their own Country, from *Tlascala*, and from other Parts, and therefore they should make ready their Arms, and their Men, for he was resolv'd to fall upon those Intruders; yet if they differ'd in Opinion, they might tell him so, and he would be advis'd by them. They all approv'd of his Design, saying, he was able to perform greater Actions than that, and offering to stand by him. But some antient Men, who had no Mind to flatter him, said, He should consider what he did, that *Cortes* was brave, and had gain'd several Victories, and they believ'd there was very great Friendship between him and *Motezuma*, for if he would have drove him out of *Mexico*, he might have done it; they advis'd him not to be carry'd away by the Fire of Youth, or the Ambition of Rule, since there were other Heirs as near as he. However, the Majority prevailing, War was agreed on, and Preparations were made with the greatest Privacy, that nothing of it might be known by *Motezuma*, or *Cortes*, but in vain, for they soon had notice of it.

Cortes

Cortes perceiving that *Cacamaxin* was a turbulent Youth, and suspecting that *Moteczuma's* Want of Resolution, or the great Affection he shew'd for the *Spaniards*, encourag'd him to undertake that Design, sent Word to *Moteczuma*, that he had much Cause to suspect him, because since what had hapned about *Conalpopoca*, his Nephew *Cacamaxin* was conspiring against him, who was so much his Servant, and therefore he pray'd him to put a Stop to those Proceedings, otherwise all the Mischief must light upon himself, and at the same Time order'd that they should repeat to him some Words *Cacamaxin* had sent him, about endeavouring to set himself at Liberty, as he ought to do for his own and the Honour of his Gods, for otherwise he could not forbear asserting it himself. *Moteczuma* was much startled at this Message, and affirm'd, he knew nothing of what his Nephew was doing; that he was very well pleas'd there, as delighted in the Company of the *Spaniards*, and would send for his Nephew *Cacamaxin*, and if he refus'd to come, would order him to be brought by Force, and deliver'd up into his Hands to be punish'd, if convicted of that Crime. *Cacamaxin* was then preparing for War, and the People readily came in to him, because he gave out that he would rescue the King. This Affair put the *Spaniards* upon their Guard, and *Cortes*, being no Way discourag'd, design'd, for making an Example, and establishing his own Reputation, to go himself to *Texcoco*, and attack *Cacamaxin* in his own House; but *Moteczuma* prevented it, alledging, that the City was strong, being seated in the Water, and the People of *Culua* at his Nephew's Command, and therefore it was better to take another Course. *Cortes* follow'd his Advice, and sent to bid *Cacamaxin* remember their Friendship; that he should consider it was an easy Matter to begin a War, but not so easy to put an End to it, and that it would be
for

for his Advantage to keep in Favour with the King of *Spain*, and his Subjects: He answer'd, He would entertain no Friendship with those that took away his Honour, and his Kingdom, kept the People in Subjection, oppress'd the Country, and overthrew their Religion; that he knew not who the King of *Spain* was, nor did he desire to be inform'd of it; and that if he would not have him make War, he should immediately depart *Mexico*. *Cortes* again very mildly advis'd him to desist, and finding it avail'd not, desir'd *Moteczuma* to lay his Commands on him. The King sent for him, saying, He would find some Means to allay those Animosities; which he was so far from regarding, that he said, If his Unkle were a Man, he would not suffer himself to be confin'd by a handful of Strangers, who had possess'd themselves of his Empire; and since *Moteczuma* was so mean-spirited, he was resolv'd not to desist from his Enterprize, to restore the Monarchy to its former Splendor, which had been lost through his Cowardise. Hereupon *Cortes* resolv'd to march out to meet *Cacamazin*, tho' the Danger was very great, considering the Multitude of Enemies both within and without; but still *Moteczuma* detain'd him, contriving with some of his Nephew's Commanders, that they should seize and deliver him into his Hands. They being brib'd, as they were with *Cacamazin*, consulting about the Management of the War, secur'd him, notwithstanding all the Opposition he made, or the Arguments he could use; and with all speed, before any thing of it was known abroad, convey'd him by Water to *Mexico*, and had him carry'd on Men's Shoulders, richly clad to *Moteczuma's* Appartment, who would not see him, but order'd he should be deliver'd to *Cortes*, who being well pleas'd to have escap'd that Danger, order'd him to be close confin'd. The next Day, by the advice of *Moteczuma*

ma, *Quizquizcal*, a younger Brother to *Cacamaxin*, was constituted Lord of *Culmacan*, he being then at *Mexico* with his Unkle, having made his Escape from his Brother, and *Moteczuma* conferr'd on him the Crown, and the Title of King with the usual Solemnity, telling him, He design'd for the future to look upon him as his Son; that having fled from his Brother, he had taken Sanctuary in his Palace, without any Thoughts of being rais'd to that high Dignity, and since he had attain'd to it during his Life, he should look upon it as a Warning not to deviate from his Duty, nothing being more fatal to Kings than living disorderly, and giving Credit to Flatterers, who were wont to lead them into such Affairs, as they had afterwards cause to repent when it was too late. *Quizquizcal* kiss'd his Hand, and promis'd Obedience, and then turning to *Cortes*, gave him Thanks, protesting he would be his Friend and Servant.

Cacamaxin was much concern'd, when he heard that his Brother was made Lord of his Dominions, and *Cortes* had him strictly observ'd, knowing there were many that would willingly have convey'd him back to *Texcoco*. *Moteczuma* sent two Embassadors to signify to that City the new Election, and caus'd the Elect to be attended by many of his Courtiers, and *Cortes* sent along with him several of his prime Men, both of them in Person bearing him Company to the Gates of *Mexico*. He was receiv'd at *Texcoco* with all publick Demonstrations of Joy; being carry'd on Men's Shoulders. At the entrance into the City the Magistrates took him up, and when come to the Palace an ancient Gentleman set a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and all the Company being silent, made a Speech to him, the Purport whereof was, " That he " was sensible, how when he was serving *Moteczuma*, " being fled from his Brother, on Account of his Pride, " the

“ the God’s had rais’d him to that high Dignity, for
 “ which reason he ought to take care not to change
 “ his noble Disposition, for that the main Thing
 “ King’s should endeavour to acquire, was the Love of
 “ their Subjects; that all there present were pleas’d to
 “ see themselves deliver’d from the heavy Yoak of
 “ his Brothers Domination; that he should rejoyce,
 “ since he began to reign with the general Satisfaction
 “ of all Men, that he should behave himself like a
 “ King, who they hop’d would live long contentedly,
 “ for all the People receiv’d him as their Lord, ho-
 “ nouring him as a God, and respecting him as a Fa-
 “ ther, saluting him as became Children, and wishing
 “ him welcome.” The new King in return, gave
 Thanks to God for having deliver’d him from Sub-
 jection to his Brother; for having promoted him so
 highly, and being so favourably receiv’d; promising
 to treat them as his own Children, and desiring that
 since the great *Cortes* had preferr’d him to that Post
 they should honour and respect him, to whom he
 own’d himself indebted. These and other Ceremonies
 being perform’d, the People withdrew, and *Cortes* was
 deliver’d from the Danger that had threatned him.

Alonso de Grado was disgusted with *Cortes*, for having
 taken from him the Government of *Vera Cruz*, and
 being desirous to be reveng’d, kept a Man on the Sea
 Coast, to give him Notice when any Ships arriv’d
 from *James Velasquez*. *Cortes* being inform’d of it,
 sent for him, he was brought into the Court, pini-
 on’d, with a Halter about his Neck, and as soon as he
 came in the Drums beat, and there was a great Shout,
 for so it had been contriv’d, the more to shame him.
Cortes gave him some hard Words, saying, if it were
 not for Pity he would hang him; but order’d him
 to be confin’d, till some Days after, at the Request
 of *Peter de Alvarado*, and others, he set him at Liberty.

After

After this Punishment inflicted, which was altogether new to several prime *Indians* that saw it, he reprov'd *Alonso de Grado*, and it hapned that about three hundred *Indian* Men and Women belonging to *Cortes*, went into one of *Motexuma's* Store-houses of *Cacao*, in which there were above forty thousand Loads of it, which was then, and still is a great Treasure, for every Load was worth forty Pieces of Eight, and all that Night they were carrying it to the *Spanish* Quarters. *Peter de Alvarado* being inform'd of it, order'd *Alonso de Ojeda*, who was that Night upon *Motexuma's* Guard, to let him know as soon as reliev'd, for he would have a Share in it. He did so, and went thither with fifty Persons, who brought away Loads of it. The *Cacao* was in Wicker Baskets, as big as Wine Fats, which six Men could not grasp, being plaister'd both within and without, and plac'd in order like Fats; those Baskets being us'd like Bins, for *Indian* Wheat, and other Grain, which kept well in them. Six hundred Loads were taken away that Night, and only six Baskets empty'd. The next Day the Track of the Theft appear'd, *Cortes* order'd Enquiry to be made about it, and had not *Alvarado* been concern'd in it, he would have shown his Severity; but he told him his Mind in private, and gave him a sharp reprimand.

All was very peaceable at *Mexico*, when *Motexuma*, either at the Perswasion of *Cortes*, or of his own Accord, tho' the former is most likely, summon'd all the Princes, and great Men of his Empire to assemble at *Mexico* on a Day appointed, upon an Affair that concern'd them very much. When they were all met with the greatest State every one could, after the usual Ceremonies, being seated in the Royal Palace, with the Gentry of the City, *Motexuma* in his Royal Robes, and *Cortes* with his prime Men, in their best Apparel,

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a Throne was plac'd with a costly covering on which *Motexuma* and *Cortes* seated themselves, nobody knowing what was to be propos'd. Then a Sign being made with the Hand to enjoin Silence, that Monarch with much Gravity said, " That during the space of eighteen Years he had reign'd over them they had been " made sensible of his Affection towards them, how " much Confidence he had repos'd in them, and of " the Uprightness of his Government; and he on the " other Hand was sensible of their Worth, and Loyalty, whence they might conclude, that he would " not have brought them together unless it were upon " some Affair that was for their Advantage; that " they should call to mind what had been told them " by their Forefathers, and what had been asserted by " their Soothsayers and Priests, *viz.* that they were " not Natives of that Country, and that their Kingdom would not last long, for their Ancestors came " from very distant Lands, and their Leader soon after " return'd, saying he would send somebody to govern " them; that they had always expected that Governour, who was then come, being the great King " of *Spain*, who had sent his Commander *Cortes*, and " those that were with him, who said they were of " the same Lineage, and therefore they might thank " God that they were come in their Days, since what " was to be could not be avoided, and the Will of " the Gods must be fulfill'd; for which reason he " intreated them, that they would jointly with him, " do Homage to *Cortes* in the Name of the King of " *Spain* his Sovereign, since he had already declar'd " himself his Friend, and Servant; and that for the " future, tho' he was absent they should serve, obey, " and pay Tribute to him, as they had done to his " own Person, by which he should perceive how much " they lov'd him, and that he had not been in the

" Wrong

“ Wrong in loving them.” He could not forbear shedding Tears when he came to those Words, and his Sighs and Sobs obstructed his saying any more, which so affected all his Audience, that it occasion’d a general silent Lamentation, insomuch that the *Spaniards* themselves, tho’ they were doing their own Business, could not refrain from Weeping. That Excess of Grief overwhelm’d them for above a Quarter of an Hour, so that no Man could speak to *Moteczuma*, whom *Cortes* in the mean time took by the Hands, and spoke to him some Words of Comfort,

WHEN their Grief was somewhat vented, and all hush’d again, one of those great Men took upon him to answer *Moteczuma*, and said, “ That all those his
“ Relations, Friends, Servants, and Subjects, had list-
“ ned to him with much Attention and Respect, and if
“ they had imagin’d he design’d to make such an O-
“ verture to them, they would not have met, to avoid
“ seeing such a mighty Monarch under so much Grief;
“ that it was impossible they should not be concern’d
“ at such a Change, which would overthrow their
“ Religion, Laws, and Customs; but since the Gods
“ thought fit it should be so, since there were so many
“ Predictions of it, and that the *Mexican* Empire was
“ to end in him, since they must of Necessity submit
“ to the Will of the Gods, and since he did so, they
“ all agreed to what he did, and own’d themselves
“ Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as had been predicted.”

Then not being able to proceed any farther for Sighs, after the usual Ceremonies, two Notaries that were present, at the Request of *Cortes*, drew up a Certificate of all that had pass’d, and he spoke to all the Company after this Manner. “ Princes, Lords, Friends,
“ and well beloved, it has highly pleas’d me to see
“ you so readily comply with the Opinion of the
“ great *Moteczuma*, for herein you conform yourselves

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“ to what the true God will have done at this Time
 “ rather than at another, for your Advantage, and tho’
 “ you cannot at present but be concern’d at so great
 “ a change, you’ll soon be sensible of how much you
 “ have been in the Right, *Moteczuma* will be a great
 “ King, as hitherto, and you all will continue as you
 “ are, all that is intended is to lead you out of the
 “ Blindness you are in, to defend you in Wars, and
 “ do you other good Turns which will appear in Time.”

After this the Assembly broke up, and every Man went to his own Home. *Cortes* waited on *Moteczuma*, returning Thanks for what he had done. There was much muttering in the City, about this Innovation, and it was the common Talk, that the Race and Domination of *Culúa* expir’d in *Moteczuma*. They said it would not have been so, had he not been call’d by that Name, which signifies Angry, to denote his Misfortune, and that the Gods had assur’d him, he should reign but eight Years, and should not be succeeded by any Son, or other Heir, for which reason he would not make War with the *Spaniards*, since they were to be his Successors; tho’ he did not believe that to be altogether true, since he had reign’d above seventeen Years; but perhaps they were mistaken in the Number ten.

A FEW Days after *Cortes* told *Moteczuma* it was reasonable that some Present should be sent the King, as an Acknowledgment for the Homage paid him, and that it ought to be collected throughout all the Provinces. Though this seem’d out of the way to *Moteczuma*, he return’d a favourable Answer, and sent some of his Servants with the *Spaniards* to the Bird House, who going into a room saw a great Quantity of Gold in Plates, Ingots, and wrought Pieces. They call’d *Cortes*, and he order’d it all to be carry’d to his Apartment, which *Moteczuma* seem’d to approve, but his
 Servants

Servants were very sorry for it. Besides that, he gave abundance of Cotton, and Feather Cloth of curious natural Colours, so rich that the *Spaniards* had never seen the like, and twelve extraordinary costly Trunks to shoot Pellets, adorn'd with most curious Silver Work, cast and engrav'd, with Gold Nets to hold the Moulds and Pellets. He likewise sent several Servants, and a *Spaniard* with every one of them to his Subject and confederate Provinces to gather a Duty for the King of *Spain*; and tho' they saw it was for a foreign King, he was so punctually obey'd, that the Messengers soon return'd with Jewels, Gold, Silver, and other Things, all which he, without looking on it, sent to *Cortes*, who receiv'd it in the Presence of the King's Officers, viz. *Gonzalo Mexia* Treasurer, and *Alonso de Avila* Controller, appointed by himself, till the King should order otherwise. Having caus'd the Gold to be cast by *Moteczuma's* Founders, that were at *Escapuzalco*, saving some Curiosities, which he thought better to preserve as they were, the King's Officers said it amounted to above six hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, including five hundred in Silver, of which there was not much because they knew not then how to manage it. There being no Weights to weigh and divide that Wealth, they made some of Iron, of a Quarter, and Half a Quarter of an Hundred, a Pound, and Half Pound, as exact as they could, and as soon as weigh'd they consulted about dividing it, and tho' there was no Difficulty in it, *Cortes* still delay'd, saying, they should stay till there was a greater Quantity, and the Weights were more exact; but they all unanimously crav'd to have it divided, believing that he and they were defrauded, of what shrunk away, because it was generally thought that the Quantity was greater before the casting, and therefore he resolv'd to divide it as follows.

THE

THE King's Fifth was first taken out of the Heap; then *Cortes* said another Fifth should be taken out for him, since they had promis'd he should have it on the Strand, when they made him Captain General, and Chief Justice. He also demanded the Expences he had been at in *Cuba* for the Fleet, all that had been laid out by *James Velasquez*, the Value of the Ships that were sunk, the Charge of sending their Deputies to *Spain*, the Price of his Mare that dy'd, and of his Horse that was kill'd by the *Tlascallans*, the Part of the *Mercenarian* Frier, of the Clergy-man *John Diaz*, and of the Captains, and a double Share for those that had Horses, or Fire-Arms, or Cross-Bows, besides other small Matters, so that, very little remaining, many of the Soldiers would not take it, and said, *Cortes* kept all to himself, and they were quiet, because of the Place they were in. Some took it and complain'd, whom *Cortes* pacify'd, giving them some Gold, and good Words. A Part was also laid aside for those that were at *Vera Cruz*, which he order'd to be carry'd to *Tlascala*, and kept for them there. *Cortes* was then the first that caus'd several Things for Use to be made of Gold; and the Soldiers, according to what they had, got Chains and other Ornaments made by the Goldsmiths at *Escapuzalco*, which is half a League from *Mexico*. Others play'd with a Pack of Cards made by one *Peter* of *Valencia*, of the Leather of Drums, as good and exactly drawn as any in *Spain*, and when they play'd there appear'd Ingots mark'd and unmark'd, which show'd how much had been conceal'd. A Soldier of *Triana*, or the County, whose Name was *John de Cardenas*, was so much concern'd, because only an hundred Ducats came to his Share, whereas he had expected much more, that fighting bitterly, his Comrade ask'd, what ail'd him; he answer'd, " God take me, if after running so many

" ny Dangers, *Cortes* takes to himself a Fifth like the
 " King, and deducts for his Horse and his Mare, and
 " the other Man's Ships, and so many Whims, how
 " can my Wife and Children choose but starve, and
 " I might have reliev'd them when the Deputies went
 " to *Spain*, had not he oblig'd us to give up our
 " Shares to send to the King, and to his Father? He
 " added, that it was a hard Case, after the Perils at
 " *Tabasco* and *Tlascala*, and being then expos'd to so
 " many Hazards, to come off with such a Reward,
 " and that it was not fit there should be so many
 " Kings." *Cortes* was inform'd of these Discourses,
 which by Degrees spread abroad among other Malecon-
 tents, and being a Man of a ready Wit, he caus'd all
 the Soldiers to be assembled, and declar'd to them,
 " How careful he was in the first Place of all that re-
 " lated to the Service of God; the good Example he
 " gave; his impartial Justice, without deviating from
 " it for Favour or Affection, so that no Man had
 " Cause to complain; that he always watch'd for the
 " Safety of them all, being continually thoughtful,
 " to the End that his Vigilancy, and the Dangers and
 " Hardships they went through, in all which he
 " ever bore his Part, might turn to the greater Service
 " of God and the King, the Honour of the Nation,
 " and particularly of themselves, and that they might
 " gain sufficient Wealth to live at their Ease. That
 " he was so free from any avaricious Design, that
 " whatsoever he amass'd, kept, or had, was in order
 " to behave himself like a good Father, disbursing the
 " same upon pressing Necessities, for their common
 " Interest, and the Support of the Cause; and that
 " to the End they might be the more fully convinc'd
 " of it, he would not have the Fifth that had been
 " deducted for him, tho' they had promis'd he should,
 " but only such Part as in Strictness belong'd to him

" as

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“ as Captain General ; that any one who would have
 “ Gold might come to him, and he would share what
 “ he had with him ; that all they had yet got was a
 “ mere Trifle, for if they did reflect on the rich
 “ Mines they had discover’d, and the Multitude of
 “ Towns and Cities there were in that Country, they
 “ would not be troubled, or dissatisfy’d at receiving
 “ one hundred or two hundred Ducats less than they
 “ had expected ; that they should be contented, and
 “ assur’d that by the Help of God he would make
 “ them the happiest Men in the World.” By this
 Conduct, and giving underhand what he thought fit
 to those that complain’d, he allay’d the Discontents
 that began to appear, and told the Soldier before men-
 tion’d *John de Cadenas*, that he would send him rich
 to *Spain* in the first Ships that went, that he might see
 his Wife and Children, and gave him three hundred
 Pieces of Eight in Hand.

Gonzalo Mexia, the Treasurer, saw some Pieces of
 Gold in the Hands of Captain *John Velasquez*, that had
 not paid the Fifth, and privately desir’d he would give
 them to him because the Malecontents demanded them,
Velasquez said he would not, because he had them
 from *Cortes*, before the rest was cast. *Mexia* reply’d,
 that *Cortes* had taken enough to himself, and so Words
 rising, they came to their Swords, and wounded one
 another ; and being both very brave must have been
 kill’d, had not they been immediately parted. *Cortes*
 order’d them to be confin’d, and having reconcil’d
 them, soon releas’d *Mexia*, but kept *Velasquez* longer,
 because he was his Friend and Confident, being shut
 up, and walking about in a large Room with a great
 Chain that had been brought from *Vera Cruz*. *Mote-
 zuma* hearing the Noise, ask’d *Orteguilla*, the Page,
 who was confin’d, he told him it was *John Velasquez*,
 the Captain of his Guard, and that *Christopher de Olid*
 did

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did the Duty in his Stead; whereupon when *Cortes* went to visit him, he desir'd he would release him, because he was a good Officer, very civil and courteous, and tho' *Cortes* seem'd unwilling, he did as was desir'd, so that the Men might believe it was at *Moteczuma's* Request, and from that Time *Velasquez* and *Mexia* were very good Friends.

At the Time when *Cortes* had his Thoughts most taken up, about sending a Present to the King, and Money to *Hispaniola* and other Islands to purchase Arms and Horses, with Advice of his Success, to invite his Friends and others to come over to him; concluding with himself, that having *Moteczuma* in his Custody, he might subdue all the Empire, if more Men came to him, with the Assistance of the *Tlascallans*, and the rest that had offer'd their Service, and were Enemies to the *Mexicans*, then Fortune began to frown, through the unsearchable Judgments of God, tho' *Cortes* was so zealous a Christian, that he heard Mass every Day, and took Care his Men should do so, and gave a good Example, living soberly and discreetly, labouring for the Conversion of those Infidels, as occasion offer'd, that being no proper Season to attempt it more openly. However there was a great Stop put to the Shedding of human Blood in the Sacrifices, and F. *John Diaz*, and F. *Bartholomew de Olmedo* promoted this good Work as much as they could, and baptiz'd some Persons, who being taken with the Conversation of the Christians, desir'd it; but there were few of these, because they thought it hard to quit their Religion, and were afraid of the rest.

THE Change that hapned was after this Manner. When the *Spaniards* were grown very easy, *Moteczuma* sent *Orteguilla* who began to speak the Language tolerably, and therefore us'd to be with that Monarch, who delighted in him, to call *Cortes*, and he told him that

the King would speak with him, and that he must observe that many Priests, and Men of Quality had been, in the Night and Part of that Day, discourting in private with *Motezuma*. Cortes said, he did not like that Message, and taking with him twelve of the *Spaniards* that were next at Hand, endeavour'd to suppress the Commotion that was within him. Being come to *Motezuma*, he saluted him very courteously, and ask'd, what Commands he had for him. That Prince receiv'd him with more Gravity than he had been wont to do, led him by the Hand into another Room, and being somewhat acquainted with the *Spanish* Civility, call'd for Chairs, and all the rest standing, and two Interpreters on their Sides, he said, " Captain Cortes, my Gods are angry with me, for
 " having permitted you to stay so long in my City,
 " destroying our Religion; they say they will
 " give me no Rain, will destroy my Corn, send the
 " Plague, and subject my Empire to my Enemies.
 " I entreat you to depart this Place immediately. Ask
 " what you will have, for I love you entirely, and if
 " I did not, I should not beg it of you, since I have
 " it in my Power to do you Harm, and shall not tell
 " you so again. Take what you will out of my
 " Treasures, and go away satisfy'd, for my Gods
 " will not allow of what has been done; and since
 " you see I can do no less for their Honour and my
 " own, be not concern'd." When he had utter'd these Words, before the Interpreter began to speak, Cortes turn'd to a *Spaniard*, and said, " Run to our
 " Comrades, and bid them be in a Readiness, for their
 " Lives are at Stake." When the Interpreter had done, Cortes rousing his Courage, very sedately answer'd, " Experience had made him sensible of his
 " Affection, and that it was not his Fault if he did
 " not continue in his Company; but that since his
 " Gods,

“ Gods, and his People were of that Mind, he should
 “ consider when he would have him be gone.” The
 King was so well pleas’d with his Answer, that he said,
 “ He would not have him go till he thought fit him-
 “ self, and he would then give him four Loads of
 “ Gold, every Horseman two, and every Foot Soldier
 “ one.” Cortes reply’d, “ That he could not return
 “ to his own Country without Ships, and since he
 “ had sunk those that brought him, it was his Request,
 “ that he would cause Timber to be fell’d at Vera
 “ Cruz, which the Indians call’d the Coast of *Calchi-*
 “ *coeca*, and he would find Men to build them.” *Mo-*
tezuma approv’d of what he said, and order’d the Tim-
 ber to be fell’d. Cortes appointed Workmen to do
 what *Martin Lopez* should direct them, and *Motezu-*
ma, who it is likely was not very suspicious, believ’d
 it. Cortes acquainted his Men with *Motezuma*’s Will,
 encourag’d them, and said, “ That God, whose Cause
 “ they had in Hand, would in the mean Time whilst
 “ the Ships were building, so dispose their Affairs,
 “ that they should not lose that good Country.” He
 directed *Martin Lopez* to make Show of carrying on
 the Work with Diligence, but at the same Time to
 retard it as much as might be, and continually to send
 him Advice of every Thing that hapned.

Motezuma had some Motives to induce him to change
 his Mind. The first was the frequent Attacks of his
 own Subjects, who said, it was base for him, the
 greatest Prince in the World, to be held in Oppressi-
 on by that Handful of Strangers, and therefore he ought
 immediately to turn them off, for his own, and the
 Honour of all the Nobility of his Empire, to which
 Purpose they offer’d their Assistance; and if he would
 not do it, they would cast him off, not doubting but
 that he must have such an End as *Couatpopoca*, and his
 Nephew *Cacamazin* had before, and they would choose
 themselves

themselves another Sovereign. The second was, that the Devil, who often spoke to him, threatned, that in case he did not destroy those *Spaniards*, or turn them out of his Dominions, his Subjects should never enjoy Health, he would destroy their Corn, and be gone himself, because the Christian Masses, Crosses, and Baptismi tormented him. *Moteczuma* answer'd, That they being his Friends, and good Men, it was not just to murder them, but he would desire them to be gone, and if they would not, then they should be kill'd. The Devil reply'd, He should do so, for either he or they must be gone, it being impracticable for two Enemies to live in one House. Besides, *Moteczuma* was of a changeable Temper, and repented of what he had done, being sorry for the Imprisonment of his Nephew *Cacamazin*, whom he had entirely lov'd, and he was his Successor in the Empire, in case he had no male Issue; and because he perceiv'd, that the *Spaniards* by Degrees made themselves Masters of his Lands, and what was still worse, of their Persons, and the Devil had assur'd him, that if he would put away those People, the Empire of *Culha* should not expire in his Person, but that it should continue to prosper more than ever, and his Sons and Successors should reign after him; that he should not give Credit to Predictions, since the eighth Year was past, and he was in the eighteenth. Thus it was most certain, that before *Moteczuma* spoke to *Cortes*, he had provided one hundred thousand Men to drive him out by Force, in case he would not go by fair Means.

The End of the Second Volume.